

TODOR ZHIVKOV

Peace
and Security
for
the Peoples

The Helsinki
Conference on Security
and Cooperation in Europe:
Ten Years After

SOFIA PRESS
1985



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JAVIER PEREZ DE CUELLAR
ON THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE PEOPLE'S
REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA

*'I am eagerly looking forward to the opportunity afforded to me by the forthcoming visit for a broad exchange of opinions with your country's President, His Excellency Mr Todor Zhivkov, whose wide experience in international affairs is highly regarded.'**

'... Yesterday, when I had the pleasure of travelling by car to Plovdiv, I sincerely marvelled at the scenic beauty of your country. However, I was rather preoccupied with thoughts about the long road that the Bulgarian state has traversed in the course of more than 1,300 years. Wars, foreign domination, struggle and successes – these are the highlights of its history. For centuries on end Bulgaria had been the victim of strifes between hostile empires in the Balkan region. However, it was thanks to the staunchness of its people, of its loyalty to the cause of national independence, that at present Bulgaria is a modern state having a worthy place in the league of nations. Following the Second World War, Bulgaria entered the most constructive stage of its national development which has resulted in a remarkable economic progress. Understandably, this could not have been achieved outside an atmosphere of peace and friendship with its neighbours.

*'One of the occasions which have brought me here, is my wish to express the UN gratification for Bulgaria's continuous contribution to the organization's efforts to safeguard peace.'***

Javier Perez de Cuellar
Secretary General of the
United Nations' Organization

* From the interview with Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, taken before his departure for Bulgaria, *Rabotnichesko Delo* newspaper, February 25, 1984.

** From the speech delivered by Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar at the official lunch, given by Todor Zhivkov, *Rabotnichesko Delo* newspaper, February 28, 1984.

PEACE AND SECURITY FOR THE PEOPLES

Speech delivered at the European Conference on Security and Cooperation in Helsinki

July 30, 1975

Mr Chairman,
Comrades,
Ladies and gentlemen,

I would like first of all to convey our deep gratitude to the President of the Republic of Finland, Mr Urho Kekkonen and to the Finnish government for their remarkable contribution to the successful organization of the preparatory, initial and concluding stages of the European Conference on Security and Cooperation and for the climate of friendship which surrounds us. I would also like to express our warm thanks to the President of the Swiss Confederation and to the government of Switzerland for the hospitality and the excellent conditions they created for the second stage of the Conference.

The path we traversed to reach today's meeting in Helsinki was long and arduous. This path led across the ruins of the Second World War, the quagmires of the cold war, and the mountains of distrust and hostility. The path was not smooth even in the stretch which began with the preparations for the Conference. Sound reason and political realism have helped us to surmount all obstacles to this meeting, inspired by the noble idea of peace, security and cooperation among nations. The meeting of the leaders of 33 European states, of the United States of America and Canada is in itself an event without a precedent in the millennial history of our continent.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria which, together with other European socialist states, sponsored the calling of the

Conference, values highly the remarkable results which have been achieved through the joint efforts of the participating states. This is a great victory — a victory for all those who want peace instead of war, peaceful cooperation instead of confrontation, construction instead of destruction. This victory benefits everyone — there are neither winners nor losers.

This is the first time in the European continent that so many states with different social systems are jointly seeking and finding solutions to problems for which the theory and practice of international relations offer no ready-made models. This is a unique experience which will continue to benefit us in future too. The conference is a telling demonstration of the changes which have taken place in international life, and an evidence of the establishment of the principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. It is a proof of the fact that today there are no problems that cannot be settled by negotiations.

We have come here to lay the foundations of a better Europe. In these solemn days we are all aware of the full import of our participation in an act of historic significance for the destinies of our continent.

Two days from now we shall sign the final document.

The core of this document, in our conviction, is the declaration of the principles on the basis of which we agree to develop our mutual relations — relations of peace and stability, of cooperation and friendship, of respect and confidence. These principles embody the common desire of our peoples to deliver the present and future generations from the nightmare of war, and to guarantee them a peaceful and happy life. In this resides their vast active force, their political, moral and ethical significance.

At present, when states with different socio-political systems coexist in Europe and the world, the principles which we have adopted of inviolability of frontiers, of territorial integrity, no recourse to force or the threat of force, the right of every people to choose and develop its own socio-economic system, are of prime importance.

It is well known that the first steps of detente on our continent were accompanied by a considerable activation of international exchanges in all spheres of material and cultural life. This activation in turn led to a further clearing of the political

climate. It is perfectly obvious that international cooperation flourishes in conditions of security and, in turn, contributes to the promotion of confidence between nations and governments, and to the strengthening of security. That is why the People's Republic of Bulgaria attaches great importance to that section of the final document which deals with the problems of international cooperation.

The development of economic cooperation is an objective process; however, it can be accelerated or slowed down. The decisions of the Conference create prerequisites for eliminating trade barriers and discrimination, for stimulating bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the field of economy, science, technology and environmental conservation, and for a more rational and equitable international division of labour.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria also attaches special importance to international cooperation in the sphere of culture and education, of information and contacts among people. Open doors are a symbol of trust and hospitality. Our doors will be open to all people with open hearts, with good and honest intentions, who respect the laws, traditions and customs of the house whose guests they are.

Comrades,
Gentlemen,

We are deeply convinced that the results of the Conference are a positive gain for the peoples of our continent. At the same time, we are well aware that everything on which we have agreed here demands from us further consistent efforts for its realization in life. Consequently, as we sign these historic documents, we do not take the responsibility off our shoulders, but on the contrary, assume the responsibility for their future fate.

The legitimate satisfaction with the great progress made so far does not obscure from our view the questions which failed to find a satisfactory answer. The final document reflects the degree of detente in the mid-seventies. We have gone as far as it was possible to go. Further on, life will pose fresh problems. New important decisions will become possible. In the years to come the results of the conference will act as a powerful catalyst of the deep-going process which has got under way and which we should make irreversible by our joint efforts. All this calls for a

continuation of our efforts to create a complete system of security and cooperation in Europe.

One of the key directions of our future work will obviously be to supplement political detente by reducing tensions in the military sphere. Further steps might include the creation of a system of measures to stop the arms race, the negotiation of an agreement to cut back armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, and the gradual overcoming of the division of Europe into military blocs.

The decisions of the conference, as UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim rightly noted, are permeated by the spirit, aims and principles of the United Nations Organization. We are not turning in on ourselves, nor are we drawing a dividing line between us and the peoples of the other continents.

In the past, conflicts in Europe have spread to other areas, triggered off a chain reaction in countries far and near, and sometimes involved the whole world. Today we are initiating an entirely different process, a chain reaction of an entirely different type. We believe that the results of our Conference will give an impetus to the solution of major world problems, of which I would just mention the elimination of the crisis in the Middle East and Cyprus, the creation of a system of collective security in Asia, general and complete disarmament.

Comrades,

Ladies and gentlemen,

The cause of security and cooperation will require from us, from our governments and peoples, further and greater efforts. This great cause has and will continue to have its opponents. But their time is up. In our days the trust of the peoples is put and will be put to an even greater extent in future, in such political and state figures as will lead their countries along the road that has taken us here these days, so as to let us end one stage and initiate a new historical stage in the life of Europe, and, let us hope, in the life of our planet Earth which, though small, is the only one we have!

On behalf of the Bulgarian people I convey deep gratitude to the peoples of Europe, the United States of America and Canada, to the political, state and public figures, to the men of science and art, to business circles, and to all people of good will

who contributed to the convening and the success of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and, above all, to you, who, on behalf of your countries and peoples, will put your signatures to the remarkable documents.

Others will embark upon this road, which is the only right road. But history will remember the names of those who were the first to blaze the path and traverse its most complex and difficult section.

Justice demands that I should particularly stress the role and personal merits of one man among us, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, who with his deep conviction, indomitable energy and perseverance contributed the most to the fact that all of us are gathered here now.

Allow me to assure you and, through you, to solemnly assure the peoples and governments of your countries that the People's Republic of Bulgaria will affix its signature to the historic documents of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe not only with immense satisfaction, but also with a deep inner conviction and an unshakeable will to work for their translation in life.

Thank you for your attention.

Selected Works, Vol. 23, pp. 452-458

(This and all the following material are to be found in their original form in the Bulgarian edition, as specified.)

THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA
IS FOR HALTING THE ARMS RACE,
FOR GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT

To the participants in the world conference to end the arms race, for disarmament and detente, Helsinki

Dear friends,

I extend with pleasure my greeting on behalf of the Bulgarian people whose work and ideals are in complete harmony with the lofty aspirations of the world peace-loving and progressive people.

Undoubtedly, your conference will meet with a wide international response. It is being held at a time when in the international arena the creative efforts of nations for affirming detente and for implementing the decisions of the conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe come into conflict with the drive of reactionary militarist circles to step up the arms race, to turn back international relations to the rejected period of 'cold war'.

The forces standing for putting an end to the arms race are having imposing successes. The peace-loving peoples welcomed the draft convention for banning military or other hostile use of environmental modification techniques worked out by the Disarmament Committee. Progress is being marked in other fields as well, such as the ban on working and production of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction, the ban on the most dangerous means of chemical warfare, etc. New opportunities have been opened up at the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe.

The efforts along this difficult road meet the ever growing support of the broad circles of the world public and found brilliant expression in the intensive campaign for collecting signatures of the New Stockholm Appeal against the arms race and for disarmament.

Together with the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and the peace-loving and democratic forces throughout the world, the People's Republic of Bulgaria works consistently and untiringly for the implementation of the decisions of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe, for their practical application to relations between the Balkan countries and for their realization in the relations between states of the other continents.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria supports all international initiatives towards ending the arms race, banning nuclear weapons and all other means for mass destruction, renouncing the use of force in international relations and, finally, to realizing mankind's dream of general and complete disarmament. We hope that your meeting will contribute to the early holding of a World Disarmament Conference.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue to make efforts for the unceasing development of cooperation with all nations, will contribute to the reaching of a peaceful political solution of controversial international questions and conflicts in the interest of freedom, and for independence and social progress. The problems of peace and international security can be solved only by the joint efforts of all peace-loving forces, states and governments, political parties and trends, public organizations and nations. That is why Bulgarian public opinion supports the initiatives for rallying the democratic, peace-loving and progressive forces in the world. I have pleasure in informing you that in fact the whole adult population of our country has signed the New Stockholm Appeal and thus decisively given expression to its will to oppose the arms race, for disarmament, for peace and security on our planet which has suffered so many hardships.

I would like to assure you, dear friends, that the Bulgarian people will give their full support to the implementation of the decisions adopted by your Conference with a view to further progress in disarmament, and to consolidate and make irreversible the process of detente in the world.

I wish you fruitful work.

September 23, 1976

THE PRINCIPLES, AGREEMENTS AND CONVENTIONS
ADOPTED SHOULD BE STRICTLY
OBSERVED BY ALL

Statement

*made at the session of the State Council of the People's
Republic of Bulgaria which ratified the Convention on the prohibition
of military or any other hostile use of environmental modification
techniques, signed in Geneva on May 18, 1977*

Comrades,

It is hard to imagine the Bulgarian people's spiritual history without their deep-rooted attachment to the native land, to nature, the mountains and forests, the fields and the sea. They all live in the folk songs. When the Bulgarian sings 'Forest, green forest', he expresses his love and reverence for the beauty of nature, his feelings of gratitude to this eternal land which has nurtured us and has inspired us to build a new world of justice and good reason. Ivan Vazov, Aleko Konstantinov, Lyuben Karavelov, Yordan Yovkov, poets and writers and every noble Bulgarian heart has been moved by the beauties of our nature. And not only of our own. We all know how interesting, beautiful and impressive the world is. This world must be preserved.

Today, in the new conditions of constructive work in building a developed socialist society, our respect and admiration for nature are even greater and of increasing import. We devote and will continue to devote filial care for its protection. We established laws for its protection, and subject to severe criticism those who violate the beauty of Nature. We shall always show intransigence to anyone trying to destroy our picturesque valleys or age-old forests.

This intolerance is naturally and deeply linked with the cardinal issue of our time, with the struggle to safeguard peace, ban nuclear weapons and put an end to any tests of such weapons, to achieve complete and general disarmament. Our nature and soil must be protected from any poisoning and destruction. They

must be safeguarded and respected, loved and cherished. This profound humanism underlies the world outlook of socialist man, and was manifest in the very first steps of Soviet power, of the first socialist state in the world.

Therefore, comrades, it was no mere chance that in 1974 it was precisely the Soviet Union which took the initiative that led to hammering out the Convention on the prohibition of military or any other hostile use of environmental modification techniques. As is known, on May 16, 1978 this document was ratified by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Today we are taking a decision for ratifying this same convention, which is a new concrete step towards curbing the arms race imposed by the imperialist forces. This race, which for many years now has been poisoning international life, constantly threatens the world with a thermo-nuclear catastrophe and devours colossal means, human efforts, the nations' most highly qualified intellectual potential and labour. It is impossible to make the process of detente an irreversible trend in international relations without its spreading to the military sphere as well, i.e. without taking new, important and concrete measures to achieve disarmament. The new convention is one of the landmarks along this road.

The convention closes the door to the spreading arms race in the sphere of the so-called 'meteorological', or 'geophysical' war, whose possibilities for destroying people and material values are unprecedented in their destructive consequences. And it slams the door before anyone who has managed, figuratively speaking, to wedge in. The successful arrival at an agreement in such a complicated sphere corroborates the thesis that it is easier to act in advance, before the new weapons have become part of the states' military arsenal. This fact points to the correct way of settling other questions pertaining to the appearance of new weapons for mass destruction, and above all to a mutual ban on the inhuman neutron weapons.

The successful conclusion of the new convention has showed once again that if there is a will, accords can be reached even on most complex and delicate questions in the field of disarmament. Such a positive result is possible, provided there is a strict abidance by the principles of disarmament, and particularly by

the basic one of them – non-infringement on the interests of any of the countries participants in the negotiations, i.e. when no one of them seeks one-side advantages.

Our people is well aware of the efforts and means that go into environmental protection, restoration and improvement in Bulgaria. The problem of environmental protection and restoration is not only our problem, it is also a problem of all countries and peoples all over the world. Therefore it is with inner conviction and deep sense of responsibility that we are going to ratify this convention, which will in large measure contribute not to allow the achievements of contemporary science and also that of the future, be used for destruction of our environment and changing the climate on our planet.

Comrades,

Only two days ago, the Tenth Special Session of the UN General Assembly devoted to disarmament began its work in New York. Our country, in closest cooperation and interaction with the fraternal socialist countries and in the first place with the great Soviet Union, is presenting a programme containing concrete and realistic proposals on all major problems, for halting the arms race and for real disarmament. We are proud of being in the vanguard of the champions of peace, security and disarmament in the world. It is a telling fact that at the very beginning of the work of the Special Session, which is the first of its kind within the framework of the most prestigious international organization – the United Nations, we ratify the Convention on the prohibition of military or any other hostile use of environmental modification techniques. This is yet another concrete and vivid manifestation of the principled peace-loving foreign policy of the Bulgarian Communist Party and of the government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

By virtue of Article 93 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria unanimously ratifies the Convention on the prohibition of military or any other hostile use of environmental modification techniques.

May 25, 1978

Selected Works, Vol. 27, pp. 377-381

PARLIAMENTS SHOULD NOT STAY AWAY FROM THE BURNING PROBLEMS OF OUR TIMES

Speech

*delivered at the opening of the 64th Interparliamentary Conference,
held in Sofia on September 21, 1977*

Esteemed Delegates and Guests,
Ladies and Gentlemen,
Comrades,

It is a real pleasure and great honour for me to extend to you, the esteemed participants in the 64th Interparliamentary Conference, on behalf of the National Assembly, the State Council and the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, on behalf of the freedom-loving and peace-loving Bulgarian people and myself personally, the traditional and ever-fresh Bulgarian 'Dobre Doshli' (Welcome) to the ancient and rejuvenated hospitable Bulgarian land!

With a sense of profound respect I would also like most cordially to greet the representatives of the other international organizations present here.

I trust that you, the outstanding representatives of the parliaments of nearly 70 states will convey these greetings to your peoples, parliaments and governments as yet another genuine appeal for peaceful understanding and constructive mutual cooperation that are so vital to the world today and tomorrow!

It is a pleasure for me to express our sincere appreciation of the decisions of the Interparliamentary Union to hold its 64th conference in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. We are confident that the Interparliamentary Conference, which is being held for the first time in this country, will assist the further consolidation of world peace and security, and the development of

equitable and mutually advantageous cooperation between all states and peoples.

The Bulgarian National Assembly has been a member of the Interparliamentary Union for more than 80 years now, ever since 1896. I would like to assure you that the People's Republic of Bulgaria highly values, respects and supports the activity of the Interparliamentary Union for the development of personal contacts among the parliamentarians of different countries, for raising the role of the national parliaments, for the consolidation of peace, understanding and international cooperation. You can be sure that the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Bulgarian Parliament and its representatives will continue to participate regularly in the work of the Interparliamentary Union, that they will make their own contribution to the materialization of its highly humane and highly noble goals. We are profoundly convinced that this corresponds to the vital interests of the peoples of all countries, of world peace and security, of all-round progress, prosperity and mankind's social and cultural advancement.

Esteemed Delegates and Guests,

It is not necessary for one to be a professional historian or sociologist to discern the operation of an important and law-governed trend in the world today: the trend to a steady growth of mutual contacts, interaction among the different countries and peoples. This trend, which has increasingly been assuming global character, has determined the growing role and responsibility of the different international organizations: governmental and non-governmental, state and public, to assist by their specific methods, forms and means of work, the constant deepening and expansion of contacts among peoples, to devote efforts to the wellbeing of people of the whole of mankind. This is the historic demand of our time, the demand of the future. And this challenge, we believe, should be met steadfastly regardless of the differences in the social order of one country or another.

The Interparliamentary Union has made, and continues to make a significant contribution to the pursuit of this noble challenge. Through its many-sided activities it has become established as a widely respected international non-governmental organization, the only one of its kind, which plays a distinctive

role in present-day international life, in the efforts to find and trace effective ways to understanding and cooperation.

I would like to stress in particular the significant contribution of the Interparliamentary Union to raising the role and responsibility of parliaments in the solution of the cardinal problem of our time, the problem of peace and international security. In order to fulfil their mission and their duty, the parliaments as supreme representative bodies of the peoples, are called upon most fully and faithfully to express the people's will to live in peace and understanding, to complete and cooperate with each other in the sphere of the economy and culture, for ensuring social progress far and wide across the globe. Parliaments cannot, and should not, stand aside from the burning issues of our time, from the struggle for lessening international tension, for ensuring progress in disarmament, and nuclear disarmament in particular, for the liquidation of the centres of tension in the world, for the ultimate liquidation of the vestiges of colonialism and neo-colonialism, for the expansion of peaceful cooperation between states and peoples.

We fully share your concern about these matters, and hope that their discussion at your conference, and the decisions which it will adopt, will contribute to the gradual realization of these humane aspirations of peace-loving people across the world. This will be in tune with the noble tasks and traditions of the Interparliamentary Union, with the goals and principles of the United Nations' Charter.

In the present-day setup, parliamentarians bear an extremely great responsibility for the present and the future of our planet. It is hardly necessary to prove that, in view of the quantity and quality of modern weapons, mankind has no other way of survival but that of consolidating and developing the policy of peaceful coexistence between states with different social orders, of making efforts to exclude war as a means of resolving international problems and controversial issues between individual states. Parliamentarians have great opportunities of influencing the governments' policies and mobilizing the parliaments and the public in the cause of peace, security and friendship among the peoples.

The best way of serving one's people and mankind today is to follow the way of peace and disarmament, of recognizing the legitimate interests of all countries and nations, and working to make international detente an all-embracing and irreversible process. The bridling of the forces of aggression and war in the world, of reaction and obscurantism, has become a vital issue for every politician and statesman, a pressing need of our turbulent age. I should like to point out once again that in the present-day setup the problem of peace and security, and of disarmament, is not a purely ideological or political one but a universal human, global problem, since a future world war would affect all people on our planet. The first cry of the newborn is not a war cry, but a triumph of life. Man is born not to fight and destroy, but to live and create.

It should be stressed with gratification that in recent years, thanks to the consistent and tireless efforts of the countries of the socialist community, of the international democratic organizations and movements, and to the sensible approach on the part of sober-minded Western politicians, statesmen and governments, thanks to the efforts of all people in the world who stand for peace and security, detente has been further consolidated. The conviction becomes prevalent that concrete measures should be adopted for curbing the arms race and for disarmament. The trend towards all-round, equitable and mutually advantageous cooperation between states has developed further. In Europe further progress was made in this respect thanks to the success of the European Conference on Security and Cooperation.

The time which has elapsed since the European Conference and the experience gained in international relations on the continent have shown that the Helsinki principles and accords are a wide, general, and completely feasible, realistic programme for action by all states towards the further consolidation of peace and equitable cooperation, for the actual laying down of the foundations of a better Europe. It is our deep conviction that the forthcoming meeting in Belgrade, which will be held immediately after your Conference, should be orientated towards the future, should be permeated by the concern for peace and security in Europe, should sum up the positive experience of the activities

carried out so far for materialization of the Helsinki accords, and should work out recommendations based on the Final Act for a further expansion of contacts and cooperation between states and peoples. We have no doubts that the Third Interparliamentary Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, scheduled for the spring of 1978, in Vienna will also contribute to the common cause of friendship and understanding among the European peoples.

Not only should political detente be consolidated and developed, but it should be complemented, as soon as possible, by a lessening of tension in the military sphere. The time has come to adopt practical measures towards a complete ban on nuclear tests, observance of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, a ban on chemical weapons and the new types of systems of weapons for mass annihilation, for limiting military budgets, for the reduction of armaments and armed forces in Central Europe. We should boldly set out on the road to general and complete disarmament, under strict international control.

It is to be regretted that, although detente has become a dominant trend the international set-up is not such as we should like it to be. Military budgets are growing in some countries, and there is a further race in armaments. There are still explosive hotbeds in the world, and the disgraceful policy of racism, apartheid and discrimination is still tolerated in many places. Hundreds of millions on this planet are living in extremely harsh conditions.

At the same time, mankind is being constantly faced with new problems awaiting their solution: protection of the environment from pollution, the conquest of outer space, the rational utilization of the Earth's power and other resources.

All that calls for the pursuit by all states, regardless of their social order, of a policy of genuine cooperation, looking for mutually acceptable solutions and making sincere efforts to secure a lasting peace in the world. Only such a policy can create favourable conditions for life for the present and coming generations.

Esteemed Delegates and Guests,

The positions of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on international issues are well known to the world public, and therefore I should not like to dwell on them in detail here.

Allow me to assure you that the People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue to conduct a consistent peaceful policy and cooperate with all states and forces which stand for consolidation of the peoples' security, freedom and independence, of good-neighbourly relations and understanding, against the forces of aggression and war, discrimination and arbitrariness in international relations. We shall continue to develop our relations with the Western states on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence and mutually advantageous cooperation.

I would also like to note once again that the policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in our peninsula is one of confirming the Balkans as a region of lasting peace — a policy of understanding and friendship, of further development of bilateral economic, political and cultural contacts with our neighbours. This policy of ours is a permanent one as it corresponds to the vital interests of the Bulgarian people and the other peoples in the peninsula, to the durable interests of peace and progress.

As a Balkan country, we are particularly concerned about the situation in Cyprus and the Middle East.

A lasting solution of the Cyprus issue should be found, on the basis of the complete recognition of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus.

We should also like to see an early and equitable peaceful settlement of the Middle East problem. The experience has shown that the longer the solution of this problem is delayed, the more explosive material is accumulated in the region and the greater the threat becomes to the peoples of the Middle East and the world.

We are also seriously concerned with the situation in Africa and urge for putting an end to the hotbeds of tension on that continent.

It is our common belief that the interests of world peace, of the peoples' present day and future, urgently demand that the attempts of reactionary forces at fanning new conflicts should be checked in good time.

Our foreign policy of peace, understanding and cooperation — its character and objectives — are naturally determined by the essence of the socio-economic order of socialist Bulgaria, by the subject and trends of its internal policy. The People's Republic of

Bulgaria, which extends to you a friendly and warm welcome with an open mind and heart, has become today a developed industrial-cum-agricultural socialist state, with high material and cultural standards of the people. Socialism has brought real democracy for the working people, a feeling of confidence in the future, opening up bright vistas for allround progress. The Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria guarantees to all our citizens the great and real rights and freedoms that can only exist in a society in which exploitation of man by man has been abolished. The socialist state guarantees equality to all citizens and provides the conditions and possibilities for the exercise of their rights. The activity of the National Assembly, the supreme organ of power in this country, is also aimed at the further refinement and development of socialist democracy, ensuring the ever wider enlistment of the citizens in the government of society. Socio-political life in this country is also characterized by the existence of two parties: the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian Agrarian Party, which work in unison in a unified bloc with non-affiliated citizens. The Bulgarian people, united in a whole Fatherland Front, banking on the mutual friendship and cooperation with the peoples of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, on the support of all progressive forces in the world, are working with a high consciousness and enthusiasm for the up-building of a developed socialist society in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

We shall readily give you, dear friends, the opportunity of familiarizing yourselves with all facets of our life, our successes and problems, as well as our plans for the future. Despite the tremendous progress made over the past three decades, we, like other countries, are still faced with certain difficulties. Not everything has been accomplished the way we wished it to be. What is most important, however, is that we have a clear vision of what should be done, the knowledge and experience to do it, and the unbending will to cope with the problems which are still unresolved; to overcome all objective and subjective difficulties and to build a socialist society.

Esteemed Delegates and Guests,
Ladies and Gentlemen,
Comrades,

During your stay in Bulgaria, which we should like to be for you both useful and pleasant, you will probably learn that our people is getting ready to celebrate in a fitting way two outstanding anniversaries: the 13th centennial of the foundation of the Bulgarian state and the centenary of our national liberation. These two anniversaries alone can show how dramatic the history of the Bulgarian people has been: a history of centuries-long epic struggles for national independence, for political and social freedom. That is why our people has learned to value friendship between the peoples, dearly to love peace and to respect its envoys.

Let us all, united and inspired by the noble endeavour for peace and progress, pool our efforts in the struggle for the triumph of a world freed of the nightmare of nuclear peril and the heavy burden of armaments, a world of calm and clear skies, of peaceful and constructive work, in which the people of all countries will live in accord and communicate with each other freely and confidently through the rich fruits of their material and spiritual culture.

I wholeheartedly wish the Interparliamentary Conference fruitful work and great successes in its responsible activity carried out by you for strengthening world peace and security, for the development of cooperation among peoples, for furthering and deepening the process of detente in international relations.

Allow me to proclaim open the 64th Conference of the Interparliamentary Union!

Selected Works, Vol. 26, pp. 446-457

ON THE ROAD TO GOOD NEIGHBOURLY RELATIONS AND COOPERATION

*From the speech delivered at the rally in Blagoevgrad
June 15, 1978*

Comrades,

For 33 years now, we have been living in peace. This is a great wealth and acquisition of ours. To the Bulgarian Communist Party, to socialist Bulgaria there is no higher imperative than that of fighting for guaranteeing and consolidating peace in the Balkans, in Europe and in the world at large. In our times, in the age of thermo-nuclear weapons, peace and war are not each other's continuations or alternatives. Peace in our times means mankind's survival and a chance for the peoples to improve their society and their lives through struggle, labour and creativity. War, modern warfare, means mankind's self-destruction.

What do the main lines and trends in contemporary international developments indicate?

Despite the attempts of the imperialist and reactionary circles to step up the arms race, to activate material and psychological preparations for war, the turnabout towards detente and the establishment of lasting world peace is the decisive factor in the international arena. It is clear to all, of course, that this process is not a smooth or straightforward one. The achievements to date have resulted from the long and consistent efforts of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, of the workers' and the national-liberation movement, of all peaceloving forces and peoples.

This struggle is still going on. And we have no doubt that in spite of the stirring among the proponents of the cold war, the process of detente will continue to develop as a main trend in the

contemporary international setup. All peoples, all sober-minded statesmen in the world are clearly aware that there is no sensible alternative to detente, to the end of the arms race, to disarmament.

As always in the past, the People's Republic of Bulgaria tries, and will continue to try to assist the establishment of peaceful coexistence, of detente in the political and military sphere, and its turning into an irreversible process.

When reviewing the international situation we cannot but devote particular attention to the situation in the Balkans – the region in which we live.

The situation in the Balkans as a whole has been developing along positive lines in recent years. Our relations with the neighbouring countries are built on lasting and stable foundations. Cooperation with them is becoming ever more varied in its forms and ever richer in content. Understanding and mutual trust are strengthening, different issues of bilateral relations are being settled faster and in a business-like manner. The dialogue on a summit level which we have established with our neighbours and are trying to maintain regularly is of great importance in this respect.

So we have sufficient reasons to be content. The time when relations between the Balkan states were unnaturally tense and strained, when prejudice and mistrust predominated in them, is increasingly becoming a thing of the past. Today our peoples are increasingly communicating, getting to know each other better and drawing ever closer. We have even begun to meet and visit each other on holidays as befits good neighbours and friends. Your district borders on two states and you are not only witnesses to but also active participants in this good-neighbourly communication.

Naturally, if someone wishes with some impure intentions to rummage in the past of 30, 60, 100 or more years ago, to search for black pages in Balkan interrelations, it would not be difficult to find such pages. But of what use would it be to anyone? History should be a source of lessons and not a means of poisoning present-day Balkan relations.

As for the People's Republic of Bulgaria, our deep and sincere desire is to look toward the future, to build up on new

foundations the political, economic and cultural relations between the Balkan peoples and states, to move forward along the road of good-neighbourly relations and cooperation. Our policy toward all Balkan states is principled, consistent and lasting, it is not influenced by ad hoc considerations. It corresponds to the interests of the neighbouring countries and peoples and, naturally, to the vital interests of the Bulgarian people.

I would like once again most responsibly to declare: the People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue in future to stay true to its principled and constructive peace-loving policy in the Balkans which it is unswervingly pursuing as a socialist state. We have not interfered and have no intention of either interfering in the home affairs, or of taking advantage of possible internal or international difficulties of our neighbours. In our relations with them we have strictly and unswervingly adhered to the letter and the spirit of the United Nations Charter and of the Helsinki Final Act.

Comrades,

In the past there was in the Balkans only one social system – the capitalist. And it was then that the Balkans earned the sad fame of being the 'powder-keg' of Europe, as four wars broke out there in the course of 30 years. Now in the presence of two systems in our region – socialist and capitalist – the situation is radically changed. Socialism has become a strong stabilizing factor, a factor of peace in the Balkans. That is why we attach primary importance to our relations with the Balkan socialist states.

We are happy that we have close friendly relations with the *Socialist Republic of Romania*, that our cooperation is developing dynamically along an ascending line on a bilateral basis as well as on the basis of our joint participation in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and in the Warsaw Treaty.

We highly value the regular friendly and business contacts we maintain with the first Party and state leader of our northern neighbour – Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. At our last meetings the beginnings were laid of a major new project – the joint building of a hydro-power complex and of two large plants on Bulgarian and Romanian soil. These projects are not only of

national economic significance for both countries. For us they are something more – they can serve as an example of the extremely great potential and prospects of good-neighbourly relations between the socialist countries in the Balkans.

As regards our western neighbour – the *Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia* – we are also pursuing a persistent policy of all-round development of cooperation and friendship between our countries and peoples. The last few years have seen a substantial progress in expanding economic exchange and an activation of political contacts and of ties in some spheres of science, education and culture.

We are confident that the relations between socialist Bulgaria and socialist Yugoslavia can become a model of good-neighbourliness. All objective prerequisites for this are at hand. Apart from the geographic, historic and cultural proximity, these prerequisites are, most of all, the lasting and invariable common interests and aspirations of our peoples in the struggle for building socialism, in the struggle for consolidating peace in the Balkans, in Europe and the world.

It is true that there are some differences between the two countries, there are, unfortunately, complicated problems with which history has encumbered our relations. Without underestimating the importance or complexity of those issues, we, at the same time, abide by the understanding that there is only one way, only one method of overcoming difficulties arising in the relations between states – especially when they are socialist states. This way is to plant our feet firmly on the main base which unites us in a lasting and law-governed manner – the common interest of building socialism in close cooperation, in the conditions of peace and friendship. It is only by developing relations on this basis, only in the process of their constant expansion and deepening, that the so-called open questions can be successfully solved in the spirit of realism and mutual respect, through a friendly dialogue, strictly abiding by the principles of equality, non-interference in internal affairs, mutual benefit and respect for territorial integrity.

We are deeply confident that the exacerbation and pushing to the fore of the so-called open questions, the emphasis on their solution as a pre-condition for cooperation, the attempts to im-

pose one's own ideas and positions on the other side – all this constitutes a wrong, futile and futureless approach.

I would like, from this high rostrum, to declare clearly and plainly: the Bulgarian Communist Party and the People's Republic of Bulgaria are filled with a sincere desire, readiness and good will to develop all-round and on a broad basis – on a large scale, in keeping with our mutual interests – the relations between our neighbouring socialist countries, between our parties and peoples. On the part of Bulgaria there are no obstacles to the promotion of such relations.

I would like furthermore to declare plainly and categorically once again that the People's Republic of Bulgaria has no territorial claims to Yugoslavia. Allegations about the existence of such claims, obviously made up according to the principle of the well-known folk proverb, are both false and speculative. We are ready to sign a joint declaration with which the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia shall solemnly confirm the principle of inviolability of frontiers and the mutual renunciation of territorial claims. We are ready to do this immediately, without any conditions attached, and without any delay. If only the Yugoslav side consents – I personally, am ready to go to Belgrade tomorrow, and sign such a document together with Comrade Tito!

At the same time, I would like with the same amount of clarity and unambiguousness with which I express our readiness to develop good-neighbourly and fraternal – in the true sense of the word – socialist relations between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, to underscore our categorical 'No' to the attempts to misuse our policy and constructive approach, to mislead the world public opinion, or to anyone's attempt to interfere in our internal affairs.

Our policy towards the *People's Socialist Republic of Albania* is also built on a consistent class and internationalist basis.

It is our sincere desire to have good relations and to develop a mutually advantageous cooperation. This would be in the spirit of the traditional friendship between the Bulgarian and the Albanian peoples dating back to the period of the national liberation

struggles and the struggle against capitalism and fascism, in the spirit of comradely cooperation, established after the victory of the socialist revolution.

We are confident that there are no insurmountable obstacles to the complete normalization of our bilateral relations. We believe that this goal is realistic and achievable because it is in keeping with the lasting common interests of our countries and peoples in the drive for peace and socialism.

As far as we are concerned, I would like once more to point out that there is both readiness and will on our part to work towards the attainment of this goal.

Comrades,

The progressively developing process of establishing peaceful coexistence as a norm in our relations with our southern neighbours – *Turkey and Greece* – is a highly convincing expression of the positive changes which occurred in our region in the last few years.

We are happy that a positive turn has been accomplished in these relations, that the mistrust and prejudices of the past are being overcome.

Our political contacts – both on the state level and between public and political organizations, are steadily expanding and becoming regular as a result of the efforts of many years, and the political realism demonstrated, on the basis of the principle of peaceful coexistence. Economic cooperation and cultural exchange are considerably gaining in scope.

A single fact may be cited as sufficiently indicative of how much things have changed. Last month we met with Turkish Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit in Varna and had many useful, frank and friendly talks. Quite soon we will again meet with Mr Karamanlis, the Prime Minister of Greece, with whom we have been maintaining a regular friendly dialogue for several years now. Mr. Korutürk, the Turkish President, also was to have come to our country, but unfortunately his visit had to be postponed because of illness.

We will continue to work just as actively and in the same constructive spirit for further developing our relations with our southern neighbours, for consolidating mutual trust, for extending and deepening cooperation and contacts in all spheres.

Naturally, we are far from the intention of idealizing the situation in our region. It continues to be complex and contradictory. As in other parts of the world, some imperialist circles of NATO, and the Maoists with them, are intensifying their actions in the region, and trying to fan and use to their own ends the existing differences and problems between some of the Balkan states.

It is no secret, for instance, that the situation in the Balkans is strongly and directly influenced by the events in the Eastern Mediterranean where the fire of two of the 'hotbeds' of our planet – the Middle East crisis and the Cyprus crisis, even more pertinent to our region, is still smouldering.

I would like to emphasize once again our immutable principled position on the *Cyprus question* – the position of consistent solidarity and support of the just cause of the people of Cyprus, for preserving the independence, territorial integrity and policy of non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus, for withdrawal of foreign troops and foreign military bases from the island, for the solution of the Cyprus question by peaceful means, through negotiations, in the interest of the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots.

As I already said, we fully take into account the whole complexity and contradictory character of the situation in our region. But we are not pessimists. We look forward to the future with optimism, we have not spared and will not spare our efforts so that here too, in the Balkans, in the former 'powder-keg' of Europe, the danger of war may increasingly recede and good-neighbourly relations and understanding increasingly prevail. We are confident that this noble cause will succeed in the Balkans, as well as throughout the world, because it corresponds to the aspirations of the peoples, because the cause of peace and security has the full support of the constructive foreign policy of the great Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, because this cause is supported by all peace-loving forces.

Selected Works, Vol. 27, pp. 404-414

LET US FIGHT AGAINST RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

*To the participants in the World Conference
for struggle against racism and racial discrimination
Geneva*

Distinguished delegates,

On behalf of the State Council, of the government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and on my own behalf, I have the honour to send you cordial greetings and best wishes for successful and rewarding work of the World Conference for struggle against racism and racial discrimination.

We are deeply convinced that racism and racial discrimination are disgraceful political phenomena which engender crass and massive violations of human rights, run counter to the goals and principles of the UN Charter and are a threat to world peace and security. There is no doubt that the most brutal form of racial oppression is apartheid, condemned by the international community as a crime against mankind.

The racist regimes in Pretoria and Salisbury trample upon the people's inalienable rights to self-determination and independence, encroach upon the sovereignty and threaten the territorial integrity of the neighbouring African countries, turning the southern part of Africa into a point of tension on our planet. The policy of the imperialist circles, which by rendering active support to the racist regimes, are doing their utmost to sow suspicion and disunity among the democratic and progressive forces in Africa, to impose neo-colonial solutions to the existing problems and to preserve the interests of the international monopolies, is also bound to arouse great anxiety.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria highly assesses the efforts of the UN towards the elimination of colonialism, racism, racial

discrimination and apartheid. It strictly abides by the recommendations of the General Assembly and the decisions of the Security Council on these questions and takes an active part in the work of the pertinent UN bodies. The People's Republic of Bulgaria has ratified all fundamental international legal documents on the struggle against racial discrimination and apartheid.

The Bulgarian people condemn in no uncertain terms all manifestations of racism, racial discrimination and apartheid and are firmly in favour of a complete boycott of the racist regimes in the southern parts of Africa, of rendering allround moral and material assistance to the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa, waging a legitimate struggle for self-determination, independence, equality and social progress.

The World Conference which is being held within the framework of the UN decade for struggle against racism and racial discrimination, is called upon to coordinate the efforts of the international community towards eradicating the racist theories and practice and to mobilize world public opinion in support of the legitimate struggle of the peoples against colonialism, racism, racial discrimination and apartheid.

Allow me, distinguished delegates, to assure you that the People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue to render active support to the peoples' struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, for eliminating all manifestations and forms of racism, racial discrimination and apartheid, for the establishment of a just and durable peace throughout the world.

August 14, 1978

Selected Works, Vol. 27, pp. 552-554

FOR SOLIDARITY
WITH THE AFRICAN
AND ARAB PEOPLES
IN THEIR STRUGGLE
AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND REACTION

*To the international conference on solidarity with the struggle of the
African and Arab nations against imperialism and reaction
Addis Ababa*

On behalf of the State Council and the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, of the Bulgarian people and on my own behalf I greet most cordially the participants in the International Conference for Solidarity with the Struggle of the African and Arab Nations against Imperialism and Reaction.

Our people have always been on the side of the African and Arab nations in their just struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, for national liberation and social progress. This struggle, with the active support of the countries of the socialist community and other progressive forces in the world has brought about the disintegration of the colonial empires, the strengthening of the political independence and the economic self-sufficiency of the countries of Africa and the Middle East as well as the embarkation of a number of these countries on the road to socialist orientation.

Imperialism, in alliance with Zionism, racism and reaction is attempting to destabilize the progressive African and Arab regimes, and to restore its lost political and economic positions in Africa and the Middle East. To this end imperialism resorts to open military intervention, fanning up territorial and other problems that are vestiges of the colonial period, it is trying to disunite the anti-imperialist forces in those regions. Imperialism seeks to impose neo-colonial solution on problems in Namibia and Zimbabwe, it is rendering all-round support to the racist regimes in the Republic of South Africa and Rhodesia.

Imperialism stands in the way of a comprehensive, just and lasting solution of the Middle East crisis.

We are confident that this conference will contribute to further strengthening the unity of the progressive and democratic forces in the African and Arab countries, to expanding international solidarity with their just struggle against the encroachments of imperialism in Africa and the Middle East, that it will contribute to the further activization of the peoples' struggle for consolidating international detente, to halting the arms race and going over to real and general disarmament, to peace and security in the world.

I avail myself of the opportunity to declare once again that the People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue to render support to the African and Arab countries in their just struggle for liquidating the racist regime in Rhodesia and handing over the entire power into the hands of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, for the immediate withdrawal of the troops of the Republic of South Africa from Namibia and handing over the power to SWAPO, for abolishing the policy of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa, for a just and lasting solution of the Middle East conflict respecting the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to found a state of their own.

I wish you fruitful work and fresh successes in the struggle against imperialism, Zionism, racism and apartheid, for peace and freedom, national independence and social progress.

September 13, 1978

Selected Works, Vol. 28, pp. 15-17

BULGARIA STANDS FOR PEACE, DETENTE AND COOPERATION

Speech

*delivered at the session of the National Council of the
Fatherland Front, February 11, 1980*

Comrades,

I should like first of all to thank the leadership of the National Council of the Fatherland Front and its President Comrade Pencho Koubadinski for having invited me again to share with you and through you with the entire Bulgarian public, certain ideas and considerations on some topical issues. To be able to do so is both a great honour and a pleasure for me.

I intend to continue at this meeting the already existing tradition and to brief you on some problems of the domestic and international situation.

What was the most important characteristic of our country's development during 1979?

First. Late in 1979 we discussed and approved the Unified Plan for the country's socio-economic development for the current 1980 and for 1981.

As you know, the two-year plan and the State Budget for the current year were discussed after a prolonged preparation at a plenum of the Party Central Committee and were then submitted to and approved by the National Assembly.

On the basis of the two-year plan, in accordance with the new mode of planning, the workforces from all spheres of material production have drawn up their workforce extension plans. The working class, agricultural workers, and specialists have launched a mass emulation for the practical implementation of the socio-economic programme for the current year.

A few days ago the Committee for Unified Social Information published an announcement on the results from the fulfilment of the 1979 plan. I shall remind you only of some of the basic indices, compared to 1978:

— The national income grew by 6.5 per cent; this growth was achieved almost entirely through an increase in labour productivity;

— Some 6,300 million leva of capital investments were absorbed; this is 46 per cent more than the average annual investments during the Sixth Five-year Plan period;

— Industrial production grew by some 6.5 per cent;

— Farm produce in current prices — by 7 per cent;

— Foreign trade increased by 11.4 per cent.

All these data show that we have no grounds to be dissatisfied with the plan fulfilment for 1979. On the contrary, it can be seen from the data that our economy developed at high rates. Fresh successes were scored. 1979 was one of the most fruitful years of our Seventh Five-year Plan period.

Allow me once again, from this rostrum, *to express our gratitude to the working class, agricultural workers, specialists — to all who, through their work, through their energy and talent, contributed to the successful implementation of the plan for the country's socio-economic development in 1979.*

This was the first characteristic feature of our country's development in 1979.

Second. At the end of last year the wages, salaries and other incomes of the working people were raised, the wholesale and retail prices were adjusted with a view to the further development of the economy and in order to raise its efficiency. This major socio-economic undertaking, which directly affects millions of working people in our country, should be considered in two aspects.

The first aspect: *a sound groundwork has been laid for the further development of our economy, of our entire public life.* The home wholesale prices were brought into line with the prices on the international market, from which they had differed considerably. We now have a much clearer idea of which kinds of production are efficient and which are not, which of our goods can compete on the international market and which cannot. We

have also corrected the retail prices of some goods and services to make them correspond better to the objective conditions of production and realization.

The second aspect of this undertaking is the real increase of our people's living standards.

- The wages and salaries of workers and employees in all branches and activities of the national economy were raised.

- The salaries of young specialists were increased considerably.

- Pensions, scholarship grants, family benefits and allowances were raised.

- The state budget met the additional expenditure for the support of school and university canteens, for the food at child-care and health establishments.

I repeat, this undertaking is aimed in general at improving the life of the broad popular masses in our country, creates conditions for the growth of the real incomes of the population, guarantees the continued implementation of our social programme.

Last year, dear comrades, our Party and state leadership, all workforces lived and worked under the sign of the decisions adopted by the National Party Conference, fighting for their implementation. The Conference was of enormous importance for translating into life the guidelines of the 11th Congress of our Party, *for substantiating and elaborating the new economic approach in the management of the economy and in the non-material sphere.*

The new economic approach embraces all aspects of the reproduction process: planning, labour organization, management, scientific and technical progress, production and consumption. The new economic approach creates the necessary prerequisites for linking production directly with the home and international market.

In order to introduce this approach into practice, our Party and state leadership had to work out a new economic mechanism. Although this was no easy task, it has already been accomplished. We can say that we now have at our disposal normative acts, means and methods for applying the new economic mechanism in all branches and activities of material production,

for the successful solution of the tasks posed by the National Party Conference.

The new economic mechanism has been applied since the beginning of last year in agriculture, yielding good results. At present, it is being introduced in the management of industry, construction, transport, home and foreign trade, the tourist industry and the other spheres of material production. All economic units in these sectors work in accordance with *the principles and requirements of the new economic mechanism.*

What are they?

- consistent self-accounting and complete self-support;

- flexible use of economic levers: price, profit, credit, taxes, contracts, currency, etc.;

- reinforcing the democratic principle in planning and planned management, still better combination of centralism and democracy;

- effective use, with sufficient reserves left, of the 'Working wages and salaries' Fund, which is distributed among members of the workforce according to the quantity and quality of work done.

These principles and requirements allow full use to be made of commodity-money relationships in the conditions of socialism, make it possible to take more fully into account the operation of the objective laws of our development.

On the other hand, *interrelations between economic organizations are placed entirely on an economic basis, on the basis of economic interest and responsibility.*

You can see for yourselves that the introduction of the new economic mechanism is linked with great difficulties. Naturally, everything that is new always has to fight in order to make a breakthrough. But we have at our disposal the necessary resources and capabilities, we have a material and technical base enormous for the scale of our country, we have highly skilled and conscientious Party and economic cadres, a glorious working class, agricultural workers and specialists who, as always before, will manage under the leadership of the Party to overcome all barriers, all difficulties along the path of our progress.

The most important thing is that the new economic approach is gradually turning into an inner conviction of millions of peo-

ple. This is a guarantee that new reserves and opportunities will be continuously tapped for the accelerated development of the country.

In the third place, I would like to dwell on some problems of our development under the Eighth Five-year Plan.

We have embarked upon the last year of the Seventh Five-year Plan. Obviously *our most immediate task is to fulfil the current plan*. Now all forces have to be mobilized in order to conclude successfully this year too. At the same time we should not forget that while fulfilling the plan of the last year of the seventh five-year period we should also work out the next five-year plan.

With the current two-year plan we have essentially laid the foundations of the transition to the new five-year plan period. But the overall preparation for the Eighth Five-year Plan of the country's socio-economic development should be completed during the current year. So *we are now faced with the responsible task of drafting the Eighth Five-year Plan. The five years it covers will be a period of technological progress*. And this more specifically means that during the Eighth Five-year Plan period and up to 1990 we shall be fighting to raise labour productivity not by percentages but by several times. Everything we shall build, everything we shall reconstruct and update should be at a high technical and technological level and should ensure high profitability. Every invested lev should be effective. Preliminary estimates show that during the next five-year plan we shall invest about 40,000 million levs in the country's development. These are capital investments, huge for the size of our country, which should be spent rationally, producing maximum effect.

Intensive work is now going on in the Central Committee and in the government on elucidating the problems of our development during the next five-year period and up to 1990.

Last October, a National Conference was held which laid down guidelines to be followed in drafting the 1980 and 1981 plan of the development of the economy in the coming years.

Two more national conferences were held last January. The first was devoted to the questions of self-sufficiency of the settlement systems as regards farm produce, and the other one dealt with the problems associated with the consistent applica-

tion of the new economic mechanism in all spheres of public life.

The Politburo of the CC of the BCP discussed the problem of the further development of our own energy and raw materials base.

A special-purpose programme on microelectronics and elements for it is to be adopted shortly. The implementation of this programme will enable us to proceed to the wide introduction of microelectronics in all areas, both in the material and non-material sphere.

We shall also tackle consistently the problems of the development of industrial biology, powder metallurgy, of stepping up the mechanization of agricultural production and others.

Such are, comrades, some of the tasks we are tackling and have to tackle while getting ready for the next five-year period. I have only outlined them. But I shall immediately add that *these are complicated tasks which, nevertheless, are completely within our possibilities and capacities*. I again emphasize that we have at our disposal a powerful material base, we have highly qualified specialists. What is more, our country takes an active part in the international division of labour and above all in the socialist division of labour. We are relying extensively on the all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries. On a mutually beneficial basis we shall expand industrial cooperation both with the industrialized capitalist states and with the developing nations.

What difficulties do we encounter?

Efforts are needed to overcome inertness, red-tape and the old way of thinking. Economies are needed. We have to use sparingly every gram of material resources, every drop of fuel, every kilowatt of electricity. We should save every lev. Discipline should be tightened, responsibility enhanced.

The qualifications of leading cadres and workers should be constantly raised, along with the Bulgarian people's educational standards; the Theses of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party on improving education in the People's Republic of Bulgaria should be translated into reality. Now we have a science-based programme for reorganizing our education in line with the new requirements of the scientific and technical revolution and the construction of developed socialism

in Bulgaria. The Theses were discussed nation-wide and approved at a Plenum of the Party's Central Committee. A congress of public education is to be held in the near future in the spirit of the Theses.

Our prime concern now is to familiarize, prepare and mobilize the millions of people in our country to tackle the tasks facing us during the current year and the next five-year period.

The new economic approach and the new economic mechanism are of major importance not only for the development of the national economy. They are also of stupendous political and ideological importance. The economic approach and the new economic mechanism provide conditions for promoting the self-initiative and creativity of every enterprise, of every workforce, of every working man. They are a prerequisite for the further development of socialist democracy, for the most active involvement of the working people in the management of production, in the administration of the state.

And precisely for this reason the importance of the Fatherland Front, as the most mass socio-political organization of the Bulgarian people, increases many times over in the implementation of all these new undertakings. The role of the Fatherland Front is now indispensable in the drive to fulfil the workforce extension plans, for economies of energy and materials, for the complete utilization of scrap, for more output from the personal holdings, for the urbanization of settlements and the consolidation of the settlement systems, for establishing the socialist lifestyle and culture.

In this connection I think that now the specificity of the organizing and educational work of the Fatherland Front committees and organizations should be manifested with particular force. The more they encourage public initiative in support of the Party policy, the more they do to raise socialist consciousness and improve the socio-psychological climate in towns, in villages, in neighbourhoods and housing blocks, the more tangibly they will contribute to the establishment also of sound interrelations in the workforces and in the other spheres of our development, to improving the organization, discipline and responsibility in labour.

The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party is deeply convinced that all communists, the Fatherland Front, the Bulgarian Agrarian Party, the Bulgarian Trade Unions, the Komsomol, the Scientific and Technical Unions will make their contribution to the fulfilment of the two-year plan, to the further construction of a developed socialist society in Bulgaria. There is no Bulgarian who is not socially committed and who does not make his personal contribution, through the socio-political organizations, to the advancement of our socialist society, the People's Republic of Bulgaria!

Such are, comrades, in brief the problems of our internal development to which I wanted to draw your attention.

Allow me now to proceed to *some questions of the international situation.*

Comrades,

The world has entered the last but one decade of the 20th century. In the intensity of political dynamism and social change the times we live in have no equal in the history of mankind.

During the last ten to fifteen years the peoples of our planet have scored remarkable successes in the struggle against oppression, exploitation and poverty, for freedom and social progress. Important steps have been taken towards the consolidation of peace, the halting of the arms race, the elimination of the threat of a nuclear war. It is no secret that the decisive role in the positive development of international relations was played by the Leninist foreign policy of the CPSU and the other fraternal parties, the indestructible might of the Soviet Union, the inspiring example of the successes of real socialism.

Major contributions to that struggle were made by the progressive and democratic forces, the international communist and workers' movement, the movement of the non-aligned states as well as by a number of sober-minded politicians and statesmen in the western countries.

The main gain, no doubt, has been the preservation of peace, the overcoming of the 'cold war', the establishment of a climate and a policy of detente in international relations, of peaceful coexistence and cooperation among nations. For 35 years now since World War II we have been living in peace, almost a decade

has passed since the implementation of the CPSU peace programme blazed the trail for detente. This is an invaluable gain, one which is equally dear, equally important and beneficial to all nations, to all peace-loving people in the world.

Yet, nothing is to be achieved without struggle in our complicated and contradictory world. Every peace agreement, every new step forward on the course of peace, detente and cooperation takes tremendous efforts and a great deal of time. It took twenty years to go to Helsinki and more than ten to reach SALT-2. This is so because we are involved in a dialogue with representatives of a social and economic formation in which laws different from ours operate. We co-exist with imperialism, whose policy is based on the interests of monopoly capital rather than the interests of the nations and the working people, rather than on the principles of humaneness, as alleged by the spokesmen of the present unbridled anti-socialist, anti-Soviet propaganda.

Recently the peoples have witnessed a great surge of activity of the military industrial complex, of those political, economic and ideological circles which will not put up with the upward development of detente and cooperation, with the successes of socialism and the world revolutionary process, with the increasing number of countries embarking upon a non-capitalist road of development. The decision of the NATO session of December 1979 for the production and siting of medium-range nuclear missiles in some West European countries faced the world with a new extremely dangerous stage in the arms race.

The statements and actions of President Carter in connection with the assistance of the Soviet Union to people's Afghanistan have most definitely contributed to the aggravation of the international situation. In his State of Union Address one heard again the claims for American hegemony and the threat of force was again promoted to a means of influence in the international arena.

Washington issued calls for restoring the hostile confrontation, for a political isolation of socialism, for military pressure on the policy of the socialist community countries. The US and their allies are gambling ever more heavily with 'the Chinese card' in the hope of turning Peking into an anti-Soviet striking force and a gendarme in Asia, into a mainstay of reaction and counter-

revolution between the Red Sea and the Strait of Malacca.

Facts bear out that this intention is in tune with the great-state hegemonistic and anti-Soviet line of the Chinese leadership. It is most deplorable that American militarism has found in the Peking leaders some of its most energetic supporters and allies.

The complication of the international setup did not occur overnight, nor did it come as a bolt from the blue. It did not at all start with the events in Afghanistan as some quarters are trying to present things. It is a logical sequel of the unceasing attempts of the reactionary forces throughout the '70s to thwart the negotiations on disarmament, to crush with force the revolutionary movement, to obtain military superiority over the socialist community and to tip the balance of forces in their own favour. The peoples well remember, for instance, the intentions of the US to station in Europe such a barbaric weapon as the neutron bomb. The peace-loving forces succeeded in frustrating those plans. However, a decision was taken at the Washington session of the North-Atlantic Treaty Organization, deliberately held concurrently with the UN Special Session on Disarmament, for a substantial annual increase of military expenditures. New programmes were approved for NATO's re-equipment with the most modern weapons, including sophisticated nuclear weapons, for mass destruction. It was then that the so-called 'Euro-strategic weapon' became known, through which Western militarism hopes to disturb the approximate equality established in the area of arms.

That was how the ground was broken and the present aggravation of the international setup reached.

Some critical phenomena in the imperialist camp, too, played a substantial role for the adoption of that course. Capitalism brought along into the '80s a heavy burden of inflation, unemployment, energy and raw material shortages. This rendered even more profound the contradictions inside the individual imperialist states and in their interrelations.

Some of these problems are dramatically set off by the pre-election race in the United States. The present American leaders are seeking ways of distracting the masses' attention and of building up political prestige by cheap means, stirring up

chauvinistic feelings and passions and relying particularly on the myth of a 'Soviet threat'.

The present US administration is not the first one calling for a 'crusade' in order to conceal the deep crisis within its own society, and its incapacity to cope with domestic problems. This method is as old as the exploiter society itself. It is not difficult to predict that the adventurist policy will once again suffer a fiasco. Nor is it difficult to foresee that in the era of nuclear missiles such an approach may bring results contrary to the goals which the initiators of the above-mentioned campaign have set themselves.

So, the West has recently been trying to address us in the language of the 'cold war'.

This is much to be regretted.

Does this, however, prompt the conclusion that the world has gone 20 or 30 years back into the past?

No, there is no justification for such an assessment. What has been achieved is not undone and cannot be undone easily. No one is in a position to divest of their meaning the tremendous achievements scored by progressive mankind over the past years.

Some Western politicians have been quick to trumpet that there is no longer such a thing as detente. Obviously, they are trying to persuade the world, as well as themselves, that their old dream has come true. In this way they are endeavouring to encourage their followers and to discourage and demobilize their adversaries. It seems there are among them politicians and statesmen who nourish the hope that by threatening us with 'checking' detente they will force us to allow them to dictate to us their own ideas and terms of peaceful coexistence.

What is our answer to them, comrades?

Yes, it is true that the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries want to live and develop in peace. Yes, it is true that our countries have fought persistently and with a clear purpose for warming up the international climate, that they worked hard for surmounting the natural and artificial obstacles and hardships in the way of detente.

We have a stake in detente, we want detente, we are fighting for complementing political with military detente, for turning detente into an irreversible process — all this is true.

But it is also true that *detente has come about not through a 'favour' of the imperialist states but as an objective necessity to them as well. In any case, not a lesser necessity to them than to us.* It is downright dangerous to use one's refusal to cooperate in detente as 'penalty' for the partner's 'misconduct'. Whoever fancies that we could be approached from the position of strength in the relations and dialogue between the East and the West, that we could be brought to our knees, is gravely mistaken. We did not allow to be approached in that way even when we were not that strong. It is both naive and dangerous to imagine that this could happen now.

As heretofore, we have a deep faith in the peoples' wisdom and will for peace, we have a faith in peace and in human progress. The forces upholding detente are constantly growing. Moreover, this is true not only of the socialist countries, not only of the communist and other progressive parties and movements in the capitalist world.

Our country's experience and my personal experience from the meetings and talks with leaders of political and business circles in the capitalist and developing countries gives me every reason to maintain that there are today more people of consequence from these circles who assess the world setup soberly and are willing and ready to cooperate honestly with us than there were before Helsinki. Recently in some countries it seems that the enemies to detente, the adventurists in international politics are taking the upper hand. However, this phenomenon could not have other than a temporary nature because it is an attempt to go against the mighty tide of history.

Naturally, we are well aware that the cause of detente has suffered a severe blow. The world is entering a new more complicated and crucial stage in the development of international relations. It is to be expected that at this stage the struggle between the various tendencies on the issues of peace and war will grow even more intensive.

This also requires that those politicians and statesmen who now, guided by misinterpreted national, group or personal interests, or overtaken by faint-heartedness, are shifting, changing sides and sponging on the basis of difficulties and tension, should commit themselves to a more definite stand in defence of

detente. This time, the course of yielding to the pressure and flattery of the reactionary circles, placing on the same footing the policy of the United States and the policy of the Soviet Union, will not lead to lasting political successes. Even less can such a stand aspire to be a contribution to detente. Whoever genuinely wishes to contribute to the overcoming of difficulties should openly and honestly condemn the line of the present US administration.

There is and there could be no doubt that *the policy of imperialism, of the reactionary circles, is now a policy of new tension in international relations, of a new round in the arms race, a policy of anti-detente. Under any guise, this policy runs counter to the interests of peace, to the interests of the nations, to the interests of the working people. It poses new threats and dangers to the modern world. We condemn and denounce this policy.*

At the same time, pointing openly to those who are to blame for the current aggravation of international relations, we express our readiness to do everything within our power to help find a way out of the present situation.

Our principled course remains one of consolidating and deepening detente, a course of peaceful coexistence and cooperation between countries with different social systems. *To the unbalanced actions leading to new tension and intensifying the threat of a nuclear holocaust, we oppose the policy of realism and sound judgement. This political platform is embodied in the answers of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev to the correspondent of the Pravda newspaper of January 13, 1980.*

Security in Europe cannot be guaranteed by a nuclear missile buildup, by stockpiling Pershing and cruise missiles in the European countries of NATO, as the overseas military strategists are trying to suggest. Are they really doing all this because they are genuinely concerned about the security of their European allies? Nothing of the kind! Their real intention is that if a war should break out in the future, it should be fought chiefly on the territory of our old, long-suffering continent many a time burnt to ashes. The peoples should fully understand that the overseas reactionary circles and strategists are ready to sacrifice first of all and in cold blood the population, the material and spiritual culture of Europe, planning to stay themselves out of the range

of the war. This is the terrible truth which should shake and sober up politicians and statesmen, incite millions of people to fight against nuclear weapons, for curtailing armaments, for disarmament.

I believe I would not be mistaken if I say that the American strategists will, nonetheless, fail to deceive the public, the sensible politicians and statesmen of the West-European countries – members of NATO. God is high up and America far away, but we live side by side, on the same continent and we evidently have a common interest – no war in Europe, peace, security and cooperation among the European peoples!

No less dangerous for the European peoples – and not only for them – is the so-called strategy of dealing the first blow. In contemporary conditions the ‘first blow’, wherever it may come from, will only be the beginning of a new world war, a destructive nuclear war. This strategy of the imperialist warmongers cannot be characterized as other than monstrous and misanthropic.

That is why the salutary measure for Europe and the world is curtailing and halting the arms race, reducing the parameters of military confrontation, taking up a resolute course to disarmament. This is the general foreign policy line of the CPSU, of our Party, of all fraternal parties and states. This is the policy of the international communist and workers’ movement, of the national liberation forces, of the democratic and peace-loving forces. This is the aspiration of the entire progressive mankind. A number of leading political figures and statesmen in the capitalist and developing countries speak up and work for such a policy. We believe that there is an objective basis for taking this only salutary step: this is the coinciding evaluation of the countries with differing systems of the most important need of all mankind at the present stage – to evade an annihilating nuclear holocaust. At the cost of great efforts in Helsinki a sound groundwork was laid for the building of peace and security in Europe and the world.

The socialist countries, the People’s Republic of Bulgaria believe that in the current serious situation the talks for limiting armaments are not only possible, but also of vital necessity. In order, however, for them to have any meaning, the dialogue

should be held with due account taken of the approximate military balance objectively achieved in the course of decades. Disarmament, as well as detente, is a two-way process. It is only possible in the presence of honest intentions and an active positive attitude of all partners. If NATO intends to talk with us from the position of strength and accomplished fact, it is clear that it will not find an interlocutor for such talks.

Under the present conditions the questions of peace and disarmament, far from losing any of their importance, become even more topical and more urgent. Today more than ever we need to strengthen interaction among all forces supporting peaceful cooperation and detente in both the political and military sphere. The fraternal countries consider this to be their immediate task, the People's Republic of Bulgaria considers this to be its duty. With this awareness we are preparing for the meeting in Madrid, where the questions of detente and cooperation, of reducing military danger in Europe cannot but be in the focus of attention.

The people and the government of Bulgaria believe in the future of detente. We believe that statesmanlike wisdom will prevail, that the lasting interests and mutual advantage of all countries, states and peoples will triumph. What is needed is sober, responsible and sound judgement. What is needed are the efforts of all interested countries. Peace can and should be safeguarded and detente can and should be preserved, and given an impetus. The People's Republic of Bulgaria believes in this and it will work and fight for this.

At this responsible hour of history we turn to all countries, to political figures and statesmen, to all honest people, who hold dear the cause of peace and the spirit of Helsinki, to all who see the madness of the contemporary alternative to peace and are conscious of their responsibility before their peoples and before mankind. Detente is in danger, but it is not buried yet. Let us spare no effort to defend it, to stand up for it, to extend it. We are confident that with good will, showing realism and taking into account the interests of the peoples, all international problems can be solved in a peaceful way. *We declare: anyone ready to march along this road will have a sure and loyal partner in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.*

Comrades,

As always, the actions of the reactionary circles against peace and international cooperation are accompanied by a broad anti-Soviet propaganda campaign. Its purpose is to shift the blame from the sick head onto the healthy one, to impress on the world that the Soviet Union had supposedly carried out an aggression in Afghanistan and that this aggression was the reason for the course now pursued by some imperialist states.

Was there an aggression in Afghanistan?

Yes, there was. Imperialism and the reactionary forces, with the active role of the Central Intelligence Agency, had been methodically training, arming and infiltrating thousands upon thousands of bandits into Afghanistan with the aim of overthrowing the legitimate government established by the people's democratic, anti-feudal revolution of April 1978. They could not reconcile themselves to the fact that the Afghan people had embarked on a new road, the road of renovating their country, of operating deep changes and ending the centuries-old backwardness. A serious danger hung over the gains of the April Revolution. Defending their power and gains, the Afghan people, the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, repeatedly turned to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics with pleas for help including military, against the aggressors.

Could the Soviet Union fail to respond to the request of the legitimate government of sovereign, friendly and neighbouring Afghanistan at such a fateful moment, when the aggression against that country had taken proportions dangerous to its existence?

It was a case of fulfilling international obligations under the Treaty of Friendship, Good Neighbourliness and Cooperation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. It was a case of helping a people's rule put a stop to the counter-revolution imported from outside. It was a case of preventing the turning of a friendly neighbouring country into a state hostile to the Soviet Union, into a base for anti-Soviet actions.

So the Soviet Union honoured its treaty obligations in full conformity with the norms of international law and the United Nations Charter.

In order to assess fully the tremendous international importance of the Soviet help to Afghanistan, it should be borne in mind that the United States had by that time already embarked on a new round in the arms race and on a course of sharpening the international situation; that under strong and ruthless pressure by the United States, some West European NATO countries had agreed to accept medium-range missiles directed at the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries to be installed on their territories; that the counter-revolutionary alliance, between imperialism and Chinese hegemonism was revealing ever more clearly its sinister nature; that one after another American naval fleets from various seas and oceans were sailing towards the western part of the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf and that the threats to use force were becoming increasingly open.

That is how matters stand about the Soviet aid in Afghanistan. This is curbing aggression, not perpetrating it. It is not exporting revolution, but cutting short the import of counter-revolution. It is not an act of escalating international tension, but an act of preventing events which would have inevitably led to extremely grave consequences for peace not only in that geographical region but in the whole world.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria hails the stand taken by the people's government of Afghanistan, its determination to defend the independence and the democratic road of development of the country, its peaceful foreign policy, its will to develop friendship and cooperation with the socialist countries, with all peace-loving forces in the world, and the fact that Afghanistan belongs to the movement of the non-aligned countries. The Bulgarian people are convinced that the just cause of the Afghan people will triumph and they will give it full support!

The People's Republic of Bulgaria wholeheartedly approves the assistance lent by the Soviet Union to Afghanistan.

As communists, as a socialist country, as people who respect themselves and the other peoples, we consider it our supreme internationalist duty once again loudly and clearly to reiterate the truth about the Soviet Union and the Soviet people, a truth which the imperialist aggressors and their helpers are so rabidly trying to swamp with muddly torrents of lies and slander.

The Soviet Union was the first in human history to set up a state of free peoples and nationalities, enjoying equal rights. It freed man from oppression and exploitation and proclaimed Lenin's Decree on Peace, formulated the principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems and started a consistent struggle for peace, for detente, for a complete and general disarmament, for barring war from the life of mankind.

The Soviet Union had been warning the peoples and governments of the danger of fascism and nazism; it had been proposing joint actions to curb them; the Soviet Union paid with the life of 20 million of its sons and daughters to crush fascism and save Europe, world civilization and mankind from the fascist barbarity.

The very existence of the Soviet Union, its example, the victims it gave, its help and protection have facilitated and consolidated the victories of the socialist revolution in a number of countries.

The very existence of the Soviet Union, its revolutionary impact, its disinterested fraternal help and support have facilitated the victories of the national liberation movements; the shameful colonial system has collapsed, the newly-liberated countries have survived and many of them have embarked on a non-capitalist road of development.

It is a long list of initiatives taken and proposals advanced by the Soviet Union in the name of peace over the past 35 years since the end of World War II. *If the world lives in peace, if there is detente in international relations, if real steps have been taken towards preventing a nuclear holocaust, the credit for this beyond any doubt goes to all the countries party to one or another international agreement. But the main credit belongs to the Soviet Union, the country which has been consistently, tirelessly and patiently overcoming the hostile attitudes, the distrust, the class narrow-mindedness and national delusions, the unwillingness and sluggishness of its capitalist partners.*

It was the Soviet Union that has put forward proposals and has been persistently struggling for:

— a renunciation of the use of force, and the conclusion of a World Treaty on the non-use of force;

— a ban on nuclear weapons, on nuclear tests, for a non-proliferation of nuclear arms and for a gradual reduction of their stockpiles until their full elimination, for not being the first to use nuclear weapons;

— a ban on the biological, chemical and radiological weapons as well as on the development and production of new types and systems of mass-destruction weapons.

It was precisely the Soviet Union which as early as 1954 proposed the setting up of a system of European security, an idea implemented at the historic conference in Helsinki.

It is precisely the Soviet Union which has struggled and continues to struggle for limiting strategic offensive weapons.

The peoples of the world know of the proposals made by Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev on October 6 last year in Berlin: to end the arms race in the sphere of medium-range missiles and to open immediate talks on this issue. They also know of the Soviet Union's decision to cut unilaterally the number of Soviet troops and armaments in Central Europe.

A symbol of freedom, fraternity and equality among states, nations and people; an inspiration and a bulwark in the struggle for freedom and national independence, for democracy and social justice, for socialism and communism; the most consistent and powerful champion of world peace, a champion whom the most inveterate enemies of the peoples are compelled to reckon with: that is what the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics stands for! That is the truth about it! It is on account of that truth that we bow our heads before it, we hold it dear and we march shoulder to shoulder with the great fraternal Soviet people!

Some of our opponents sometimes allow themselves to call Bulgaria a Soviet satellite. Naturally, they know all too well the difference between a satellite and an ally, because they themselves have a good measure of satellites whom they push about most ruthlessly. They simply want to hurt us, to tarnish the attractive example and the international prestige of our country.

Yes, the People's Republic of Bulgaria is a staunch ally of the Soviet Union indeed. Our peoples have indeed been bound since the depth of centuries of history by fraternal feelings and in-

destructible friendship. It is true that Bulgaria is building its new society side by side with the Soviet people, with the peoples of the other fraternal socialist countries. We do wholeheartedly support the peaceful and realistic foreign policy of the Soviet Union, its constructive course aimed at political and military detente.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria is a worthy and loyal member of the socialist community. Its freedom and independence, its allround development is bound up, and is becoming, with every passing day, ever more closely bound up with the destinies of the other fraternal countries, with the destiny of the socialist community. Now, on the eve of the 1300th anniversary of the founding of the Bulgarian state we declare with a deep conviction and pride: *our country has never had a more faithful, more selfless and more sincere and reliable ally than the Soviet Union. It has never been so free, so independent, so confident of its present and future, as it is in the fraternal family of the socialist community countries.*

It is an impossible job the leading circles in the United States have shouldered, to discredit through slanders and to isolate the country which they could not isolate even at the time when it was the only country to have broken the front of the capitalist countries. One must have forgotten history, the fate of the foreign interventionists and of the fascist invaders, to hope that crude pressure and blackmail can force a country like the Soviet Union to back down from its policy.

What were the consequences of the foreign intervention, of the fascist invasion, of the 'cold war'? The Soviet Union was neither destroyed nor weakened. The Soviet Union is one of the most powerful nations in the world and the Soviet Union is no longer alone, the world socialist system is a historical fact.

Will the so-called 'punitive measures' taken by the US administration against the USSR yield the hoped-for results? We can even now answer confidently and firmly — no!

The Soviet Union is a country of a tremendous political, economic, scientific, intellectual and military potential.

The socialist community is not a negligible group of small, weak countries, which can be dictated to, which can be intimidated.

We possess everything we need to develop successfully, to defend our common interests and security.

Comrades,

It is well known that one more ignoble and despicable campaign is being launched on the initiative of the American President – the campaign against the Moscow Olympics.

Since ancient times the world has known that the Olympic Games are a festival of peace and friendship, of many virtues and beauty. Now the world learns that some top leaders of the USA want to turn the Olympics into an instrument of political pressure. This is not merely a gross violation of the principles and objectives of the Olympic movement and the Olympic idea in general. It is not difficult to foresee that if an attempt is made on the 1980 Olympics, this may trigger off an irreversible chain reaction, which will threaten the very existence of the Olympic Games.

At the Tenth Olympic Congress in Varna, we, the Bulgarian government and the entire Bulgarian public, clearly voiced our allround support of the lofty, noble and humane goals of the Olympic ideas aptly condensed in the Congress motto: 'Sport in the Service of Peace!' Now again, we categorically reject all attempts to encroach on the principles, the objectives and the role of the world's most popular sport movement and we are confident that the Moscow Olympics will not only take place, but will most fully correspond to the Olympic ideals, and will be the most peaceful and friendly of all Olympic Games.

The Bulgarian people welcome the forthcoming Moscow Olympics and wish the athletes of all countries a successful preparation and performance, in the name of the noble and intransigent Olympic ideals.

Comrades,

The policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in the Balkans, as we have often pointed out, is a consistent, principled policy, unchanged and unaffected by considerations of expedience. More specifically, this means that now, in spite of the exacerbation of the international situation caused by the imperialist and reactionary forces, *we adhere to and will continue to abide by the goals proclaimed by us in our relations with the neighbouring countries, namely: safeguarding and consolidating peace and security, promoting good neighbourliness and friendship, cooperation and understanding.*

Naturally, we are aware that the changes in the international setup as a whole affect the situation in the Balkans too. Our Peninsula is no isolated region, but a part of Europe, and a part of the world.

Thus for instance, we are not indifferent to the fact that the medium-range missiles can reach our country from the opposite part of Europe. We are not indifferent to the fact that there are bases with so-called 'limited' range missiles around the People's Republic of Bulgaria, for they, too, can reach our territory. And we are far from indifferent about our neighbours' future attitude towards us: whether we shall continue to actively develop friendship, good neighbourliness and cooperation. We cannot remain indifferent to NATO's attempts to turn the territories of some Balkan countries into nuclear launching ranges.

We hope that reason and realism will prevail among the politicians and the military in those countries and that they will not allow the Balkans to become a plaything in the hands of distinct reactionary circles.

What can we say in a nutshell about relations with our neighbours at the present stage?

Relations between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Socialist Republic of Romania continue to develop along an ascending line. This is only too natural. Romania is our neighbour and ally, we both are members of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, our bilateral relations are built on the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance. Last year we, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and I, met twice; we discussed and mapped out measures for our future cooperation. As you already know, these days we are to meet and talk again. Which means that the good tradition is maintained.

Our relations with *Turkey* and *Greece* are very good. Last year, fruitful meetings were held with the Prime Ministers of the two countries and we think that the tradition of these annual meetings will be kept up. There were also meetings of the foreign and other ministers and responsible state leaders. We will continue to develop our relations with Greece and Turkey on the principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, of mutual benefit, mutual trust and good neighbourliness.

As to *Albania*, we continue to favour the normalization and development of inter-state relations.

Our relations with the *Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia* continue to develop, though we would like them to be more active and comprehensive. Lately, using President Tito's health as a pretext, a number of mass media in the West took the liberty of making most vicious insinuations and speculations with regard to Bulgaria and the Soviet Union. But, as the saying goes, lies have short legs.

I would like to declare once again:

The People's Republic of Bulgaria is interested in having as a neighbour a peaceful, stable and prospering socialist Yugoslavia.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria recognizes the political realities and the state frontiers established after World War II; it has never had territorial claims, either to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, or to any of its neighbours.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria supports all its earlier proposals directed towards the further strengthening and promotion of friendly, good neighbourly relations with the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

In general, the People's Republic of Bulgaria has been lending and will continue to lend its share to the promotion of trust and friendship among the Balkan countries.

Comrades,

In a matter of only a few years, the process of detente has yielded abundant fruit. Our country has been doing everything in its power to consolidate peace, security and cooperation in the Balkans, in Europe and the world.'

The Bulgarian people are deeply attached to the policy of detente, they see no other reasonable alternative and they declare that, in spite of the obstacles and difficulties which definite circles are placing in the way, they will continue to make efforts to multiply the positive results already achieved in relations between the Balkan and the other European countries.

Comrades, these are some of the basic problems of our internal and international situation which I wanted to present to you.

Thank you for your attention!

TODAY HUMANITY HAS NO TASK MORE IMPORTANT AND MORE URGENT THAN TO SAFEGUARD AND STRENGTHEN PEACE

Speech

*delivered at the International Meeting and Dialogue on
Detente, organized on the occasion of the 80th anniversary of
the Bulgarian Agrarian Party*

July 8, 1980

Dear Guests,

Dear Comrades,

First of all I should like to express my heartfelt gratitude for the great honour you have done me by giving me the opportunity of addressing this prestigious international forum.

It is with great pleasure that I am now fulfilling the mission of greeting you most cordially on behalf of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, of the Government and of our entire people and of wishing you fruitful work and a pleasant stay in our country. We have always opened our doors hospitably to friends, to all who come to us as the champions of love for peace and of cooperation between the peoples.

The occasion of your visit to our country is the celebration of the 80th anniversary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party. Yesterday you heard the message of greetings of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party to our fraternal party. In this message we once again render what is rightfully due to the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BAP), to its leadership and to Comrade Peter Tanchev personally for their enormous work for the benefit of the people. *We cannot imagine present-day socialist Bulgaria or the solution of the tasks of our social, political, economic and cultural life, indeed, of our all-round development without the joint work of communists and agrarians, without cooperation and unity of action between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian Agrarian Party.*

I wish to emphasize that our joint work and unity of action do not date from the victory of the socialist revolution. They were born and cemented already under the difficult conditions of the struggle against the fascist dictatorship, for the victory of the socialist revolution and the establishment of people's rule. We, communists and allied agrarians, suffered the disasters of the wars and the blows of fascism together, we faced the firing squads and the gallows together, and together we formed the salutary Fatherland Front which united all progressive, democratic and patriotic forces and under whose banner the victory of the Ninth of September, 1944, was achieved.

Today the friendship and joint action of our two fraternal parties have been raised to a new stage. We discuss and solve the principal questions of the development of this country jointly, especially questions concerning agriculture and the strengthening of the people's social, political and ideological unity. This political reality has been promoted to a constitutional principle. Our cooperation can be taken as a model of the unity and joint action of the progressive forces in a country which is being built up and developed under the motto 'Everything for Man, Everything in the Name of Man'.

We also value the international activity of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party very highly. In our age, the contacts, friendly relations and cooperation between the BAP and many agrarian parties, movements and kindred democratic organizations, as we all know, play a great role in promoting cooperation and understanding between the peoples and states, in forming our planet's social and political physiognomy.

That is why we are very pleased that the celebration of the 80th anniversary of our fraternal organization is being turned today into such a prestigious forum, one which will discuss the most fateful problem of our time – the problem of detente and peace. This fact in itself shows our common concern for the process of detente, for the cause of peace, it shows – and I am convinced you will agree with me – *our common interests in overcoming the present complications in the international arena.*

We all know that the problems which face mankind and which determine the aspect of and have an influence on the social-political, economic and all other processes in the contemporary

world, are many. There are, however, three exceptionally important, cardinal problems. We can safely call them problems above all other problems, decisive ones, vital and fateful for the development of present-day civilization, of the world of today, problems concerning hundreds of millions of people on our planet.

The first problem – this is the problem of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

The second problem – is the problem of war and peace.

The third problem – is the problem of the relationship between man and nature.

Allow me to dwell briefly on these three problems.

PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE – AN IMPERATIVE OF OUR TIME, AN IMPERATIVE OF LIFE

Esteemed friends and comrades,

We live – and all of us in this hall are very well aware of this – in an exceptionally dynamic time, a time of stormy and profound social change, of unprecedented activity of the social forces of the whole planet.

What is the world today? As you know, as a result of successful social revolutions, a large group of countries have embarked on the road to the build up of a socialist society or have orientated themselves towards it. The colonial system has collapsed, it is practically nonexistent. Dozens of young independent states have emerged. They are now faced with the problems of how to overcome their centuries-old backwardness, inherited from colonialism and imperialist dictates, how to emerge from their very difficult economic situation, to build up their national economies, to feed, shoe and clothe their populations, how to organize their health services, how to do away with illiteracy, etc.

The activity of all organized public forces, parties and movements has increased tremendously. They are ever more insistently demanding to take a direct part in shaping the policies of their states, in solving social problems, in charting the ways to economic development, in regulating international relations, particularly in the struggle for peace and detente.

That, in a nutshell, is what the world is now: dynamic and fraught with great social conflicts, with unusual activity and

striving on the part of the peoples to live in a new way, to transform the world, to build up their prosperity, their happiness.

All this gives rise to, and cannot but give rise to, many important problems, and it cannot but give rise to contradictions. And this is natural.

The axis of the most essential and deepest social and political processes of our time are the *relations between the socialist and the capitalist states*. There are differences in principle and contradictions between the two world systems. These systems exist, they are a reality. The contradiction between the socialist countries and the capitalist countries is *the fundamental contradiction at the present stage of social development*.

Naturally, besides this fundamental contradiction, there are also other contradictions: ones between the developing countries and the advanced capitalist countries, others between the capitalist states competing with each other for markets and sources of raw materials, etc.

Such are now the stark realities of the world which no sober-minded politicians can afford to disregard.

If we discuss all these contradictions from the point of view of international security and the interests of the whole of mankind, from the point of view of the peoples' happiness and prosperity, we cannot help realizing that *the problem of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems is acquiring exceptionally great and decisive significance*.

There are ideologists, politicians and statesmen who consider that a situation of constant tension and confrontation between the socialist and capitalist countries should exist in the world, that in the final count, the decisive means of settling the contradictions between these two systems must be arms, must be war.

This is a misanthropic, barbarous theory which defies all comparison. Unfortunately these are not merely ideas, or merely intentions. Such are also the actions of some Western circles. In practice these circles play into the hands of the Maoists. Quite overtly the Maoists have set themselves the task of provoking a military conflict in which the Soviet Union and the USA would destroy each other, so that they, the present-day leaders of China, could realize their goals of hegemony.

In no circumstance can we agree with the adventurous course of confrontation and war. The question of peaceful coexistence concerns not only separate countries, not only separate peoples. It is of cardinal significance to the world of today, to our civilization, to the present and future of the peoples inhabiting our planet. The question, as it stands today, is: either we shall coexist peacefully, or we shall exterminate each other.

Consequently the principal conclusion which we must draw, can be none other than the following: step by step, but steadfastly and decisively, to build up new international relations, relations of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. This is the only true conclusion. Because, esteemed guests, esteemed comrades, if we draw any other conclusion, if we take steps in any other direction, that could lead to catastrophic consequences for our planet, for the peoples.

The experience of history, particularly the experience of the last decade, abounds in examples of mutually advantageous and fruitful cooperation between the socialist and the capitalist countries which prove *the correctness of the thesis of the need for peaceful coexistence*.

What are the facts?

Let us take the Second World War. In the crushing of nazism – that barbarous and inhuman regime which kindled the war – an enormous role was played by the coalition between the Soviet Union and a number of capitalist countries. That was a convincing example of states becoming aware of the necessity of struggling jointly for survival, and for coexistence in conditions of peace and independence.

Or another example. After the victory in the Second World War, the *United Nations Organization* was set up. This, too, is a triumph for the principles of peaceful coexistence, for the understanding that such an international organ should be set up to discuss and settle controversial questions and to help in averting the danger of a fresh war. This organization has been functioning for 35 years now. We know how important a role it has played and is playing in the discussion of a number of big international problems, in reducing world tension.

It we go further, we must point to the success of the *European Security and Cooperation Conference* and to the signing of

the Final Act in Helsinki which established the principles of peaceful coexistence as the basis of relations between states with different social systems.

The signing of SALT-1 and SALT-2 is yet another victory for peaceful coexistence.

If we examine only the last decade, from 1970 on, we can see that during that period great, I should say historic, changes took place in the development of the world, on the basis of peaceful coexistence.

We know very well what the 'cold war' was like, what a threat it posed to peace and what tension it caused in the world. The 'cold war' was overcome. A climate of trust began to be created. Detente was gradually gaining ground as the principal and leading tendency in international relations. The territorial, political and social realities in Europe after the Second World War were confirmed. Many international agreements were signed between socialist and capitalist countries; this created conditions for the development of equal and mutually advantageous cooperation in various spheres.

We achieved big successes in the economic field. East-West trade attained a wide scope. If we make a comparison we shall see that the growth rate of trade between the socialist and the capitalist countries over the last decade was twice as high as the growth rate of world trade as a whole. This is a major gain. Industrial cooperation and specialization was initiated between Western firms and economic organizations of the socialist countries and new forms were sought in which to develop economic relations, techno-scientific cooperation, etc.

In the sphere of culture there was a tangible increase in the exchange of cultural values. These relations have been increasingly expanding.

We must assess all this on its merits, and assess it as a tremendous achievement in our efforts to implement the principle of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems.

We declare, for all to hear, that we stand for peaceful coexistence, that it is of advantage to our people who are building a developed socialist society and who need peace and international cooperation for the successful fulfilment of their daring plans.

But is there in fact any nation that is not interested in the preservation of peace?

All peoples stand to lose from the disruption of normal relations and cooperation. No one should entertain any illusions about it. To restrict political, economic and cultural contacts between the East and West, to cancel business agreements already concluded means to pursue a short-sighted and unrealistic policy.

Of course, we realize that in pursuing the course of detente and in applying the principle of peaceful coexistence, there are difficulties.

And there cannot but be difficulties. First, because it is a matter of relations between countries with two different social systems, capitalist and socialist. Secondly, because the considerable differences and contradictions between the developed capitalist nations and the developing countries give rise to severe conflicts between them which complicate the general situation. Thirdly, because there can be no stopping the historical process, the peoples are waging their struggle for national independence, against oppression and exploitation, for the right to utilize their own resources for social progress. Fourthly, because there are influential circles in the capitalist countries whose interests are bound up with the policy of tension and with the arms race, not with detente; and so on.

There are, therefore, objective conditions in the present-day world to give rise to complications of various character, and even to crisis situations. *We should, however, never lose sight of the main, the decisive thing, the one thing without which there can exist neither socialist nor capitalist countries, nor the rest of the world, namely that there is not and cannot be a reasonable alternative to peaceful coexistence.*

Whatever the methods and approaches, whatever the theories used to analyse modern society, there is no denying the fact that the socialist countries exist. They may be abused, and abused they are. What fabrications do they not write about them. But the socialist countries do really exist. The Soviet Union exists and so does the entire socialist community. The capitalist countries, too, do really exist. Such is the present-day world, and it is all the same whether anyone likes it, or not.

We Marxists, we communists, think that the future of the world is socialism and communism. Capitalist ideologists think otherwise. All right, let us argue about it. But let us not reach out and take up arms to prove that we are right. *Let history decide the question in whose favour, in what direction the world will develop. And let this dispute be settled peacefully, not under conditions of tension, not under conditions of continual confrontation between the two systems.*

Some people will say: 'You, Comrade Zhivkov, or Mr. Zhivkov, disregard the fact that besides the socialist and capitalist countries there are also other countries, there are developing countries. Yes, there are, Comrades. And I do not in the least underrate their role in international life, in the struggle for peace. This is natural, for if we take up arms, if a new world war breaks out, it will give no heed to which country is socialist, which is capitalist, and which is a developing one. *But the focus at which world problems now converge and in which the question of peace and war is settled, is the relationship between the socialist and the capitalist countries. Whatever we may do, we cannot circumvent this historical fact.*

Some people suggest to us: good, since we are to follow a line of peaceful coexistence, of peace and understanding, then let us agree not to let any revolutions happen in one region or another, in one country or another of the world.

But how is such a thing possible? It is absolutely impossible. This question has been historically decided by the development of human society. We may take as many decisions as we like, but where there is no freedom, where there is oppression, exploitation and slavery, the peoples will rise in struggle. And they have the right to do that. There can be absolutely no doubt about that. Revolutions will be carried out, and cannot but be carried out there where the conditions are ripe for them.

Nothing can stop the revolutionary process.

Peaceful coexistence is coexistence and cooperation between countries with two different systems. It does not, however, settle nor can it ever settle either the question of the peoples' struggle for liberation from foreign oppression, or the problems of inter-class relations in the different countries.

We are resolutely opposed to the export of revolutions, and we do not engage in such activity. We know very well that revolutions are the result of social developments in a given country, the result of a series of concrete conditions – social, economic, political, historical, etc. They are an expression of the need for radical changes in the interest of the broad masses of people. It is only when the conditions for deep social transformations are ripe, that the social revolution wins. But that is above all a question for the peoples to decide, one which reflects the concrete correlations of the forces in the countries concerned. This is absolutely clear to us. This is our position. We are no adventurers. We are realists.

At the same time, however, we are also resolutely opposed to the export of counterrevolution to countries and regions which have embarked upon the road to social transformation, along the road to radical renewal of their economy and their entire social system. Under no circumstances will we be the accomplices of the stranglers of the peoples. On this question we must be clear. As long as counterrevolution is exported and any country threatened by it asks for our help, we shall help it with all the possibilities and means at our disposal. In this there is nothing strange, nothing unnatural. On the contrary, the opposite would be unnatural.

This is how the problems of revolutions and counter-revolutions stand.

We all, dear guests, work in our countries, bear a responsibility to our parties and organizations, and are inspired by the humane goals of working for the well-being of our peoples. But we know very well that in our epoch there can be no closed communities, no closed countries, there can be no happiness and no prosperity for the peoples, that even the ordinary citizen cannot arrange his own home and build up a happy life, unless peace is safeguarded and strengthened, unless the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems triumphs in international relations. The existence and happiness of mankind, the existence and happiness of the peoples and of the man in the street are indivisibly linked.

We, statesmen and politicians, regardless of the rank we hold and the responsibility we bear, are faced with the great

historic task, the imperative of the time, the imperative of life: to work out a system of undertakings, agreements and treaties with a view to ensuring – in spite of the occasional ebbs and flows in international life, and in spite of the crisis phenomena that may arise in given regions – the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems on our planet, and the peace, freedom and progress of the peoples.

I should like once again to stress the fact that we, the socialist countries, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, are working and consider it our extremely important duty, to carry out such foreign political activity, to pursue such a policy as will further consolidate and promote peaceful coexistence.

ON PEACE AND WAR

Esteemed guests, and comrades,

Allow me to pass on to the following question – *the question of war and peace.*

This question is neither of today nor of yesterday. It is a question which has aroused the concern of mankind, of the peoples, ever since there were wars. And wars were waged, as the historians say, even in the remotest Antiquity. The most lucid minds of mankind have resolutely declared themselves against plunderous, unjust wars. We are all perfectly aware that in the last few decades, the question of war and peace has become a cardinal one. *And I would say what I think coincides with your convictions as well – that there is no question more important, more fateful for the very existence of mankind than the question of peace and war.*

Shall we succeed in ensuring lasting peace in the world or shall we allow, irrespective of our wishes, a war to flare up? If a third world war broke out, it would be radically different from all the wars waged so far, including the Second World War. I am not saying anything new. You are prominent public figures and statesmen, and know this very well. Through the present-day techno-scientific revolution in the sphere of warfare there have been developed arms of a colossal power of destruction, such a power of destruction as the human imagination cannot picture.

What would happen if such a war broke out?

First, there would be no battle-front and no rear. War would be total, involving whole countries, whole states, the entire planet, no matter where it happened to be waged. I beg you very much to take note of this – no matter where it happened to be waged and *no matter whether it was waged* with nuclear arms between the Soviet Union and the USA or between China and I don't know which other state. Why? Because even if most of the countries in the world were spared direct thermo-nuclear hits, they could not be spared radioactive fallout. Radioactive fallout would spread over all countries, over the greater part of our planet, and there would be no means or possibilities of overcoming this, of avoiding it, of preserving a normal living environment for the people's life. So there would be no front, no rear, no frontiers, no neutral or belligerent, friendly or hostile states.

Secondly, a future war would make no difference between classes. It would be impossible, let us say, to destroy the capitalist class and leave the working class, or the other way round. All would go. No differentiation could be made between the good and the evil, the innocent and those guilty for the calamity. And so on and so forth.

This is, therefore what a future war would be like. There would be no state unaffected in a future war.

A symposium of US scientists, representatives of the medical sciences, took place last February in the USA. They came up with a letter to US President Carter and to Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, in which they drew their attention to several very important facts. The letter points out (I quote from memory), that should a thermo-nuclear war, even a limited one break out, it would have irreparable consequences. The American medical experts write that to the US a nuclear war would mean the destruction of the entire population, of the towns, of the industry. To the Soviet Union it would mean the destruction of the greater part of the towns and the majority of the population, because the Soviet Union has bigger territory and a smaller concentration of the population. In the end, the conclusion is drawn that there is no alternative to an atomic war but peace, that in such a war there would be neither vanquished nor victors, that measures should

be immediately taken to guarantee world peace, to prevent a third world war, a thermo-nuclear war.

As you know, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev answered the authors of the letter declaring that the Soviet Union would continue to do its best to safeguard peace.

This is, Comrades, how things stand.

Lenin – that genius of mankind – said that if a weapon capable of destroying entire armies, entire peoples was invented, then war would become an absurdity. Now a weapon has already been developed capable of destroying not only entire armies and entire states, but of destroying the whole of our planet. Such a weapon has been created. Moreover the arms race continues, at a tremendous pace, too.

According to official data, to UN statistics, mankind now have at their disposal such a quantity of thermo-nuclear arms that in their destructive power they equal 1.5 million bombs of the type which destroyed Hiroshima. These bombs can destroy 15 times over everything living on our planet. Fifteen times! This is the stark truth: as a result of the contemporary technological revolution a weapon of mass destruction, new in principle, has been developed, which is, indeed, turning war into an absurdity.

Dear Guests, Comrades,

I should like to say here quite frankly that *we have been gravely worried by the latest theories, particularly by the corresponding action already taken by the US strategists, on the issues of armament and a future war.*

Through the whole period following the 'cold war' we were negotiating an agreement – there exist written documents to this effect, there are statements made by Comrade L. Brezhnev on the Soviet side and by the US President J. Carter, by military experts, theorists and others – to the effect that approximate parity had been reached in the military forces of the East and the West. This has been accepted as a reality. And on this basis we went to Helsinki. The SALT-1 and SALT-2 negotiations were based on this premise and on this conclusion. Everything was based on this. And it was right that it was so, because what kind of detente can there be if a relative balance of armaments has not been achieved?

Now, however, they openly declare – both in the US and at the NATO sessions – that the US must achieve superiority in the military sphere. What does that mean? It means the undermining of the foundations of everything that has been achieved and the torpedoing of our future negotiations and talks aimed at resolving conflict situations and at continuing the process of detente.

In what variants and what aspects is the new concept being discussed and formulated now?

First of all certain ideologists in the West, claim that thermo-nuclear war is not so terrible. They underrate the casualties they would suffer and present matters almost as though it would be something like a sporting event if a third world war broke out. The conclusion they draw is that they must prepare to wage a thermo-nuclear war; and to be able to wage it, they must have superiority.

The second thesis, now being formulated by certain ideologists and strategists in the West, is on the so-called second-echelon wars, local wars. You see, in their view conditions had to be created at all costs for inciting and fanning local wars! And they go on shamelessly writing and propagating this. Local wars are also being waged at present, but in the conceptions of these people, this has already become a strategy, a policy, a line of development. That is what worries us.

According to these strategists an eventual war in Europe would also be a local war. Everyone of us, every man of common sense, can understand what this formula means and what it aims at.

What would it mean if a local war broke out in Europe? It would mean that Europe would be reduced to ashes. The stationing of new US medium range thermo-nuclear missiles on the territory of Western Europe aims precisely at this: to leave the US outside the European theatre of military operations.

Of course, this theory amounts, as we say, to reckoning without one's host. Those overseas strategists who preach it should know that if a war breaks out in Europe, it cannot and will not be a local war. Because the new US missiles which are being prepared for stationing in Western Europe will cover the whole of the European part of the Soviet Union and a con-

siderable part of its other territory. To the Soviet Union it would make no difference whether it was attacked with thermo-nuclear arms from US territory or from bases in some European country. So whether a world war were kindled directly or someone considered Europe as a region of local war, would amount to one and the same thing; both in theory and in practice this would be catastrophic. Obviously we cannot agree to changing the balance of forces in Europe to any degree.

What should be done?

We should by all means prevent a third world war!

Preparations for war are now going on at unheard-of and unprecedented rates. Last year the NATO countries set aside about 220,000 million dollars for military preparations, and in several years' time it is planned for this sum to reach 400,000 million dollars — as much as all the states in the world now spend on armaments. 400,000 million dollars! Moreover, Comrades, I doubt whether this is the true figure. Part of the funds for military preparations are transferred to other paragraphs in the budget. Probably no less than 500,000 million dollars now go for military preparations every year.

It is well known that *we, the socialist countries, are taking very serious measures and showing exceptionally vigorous activity to safeguard peace.* To us the principal, cardinal question is the question of ensuring lasting world peace, of preventing a third thermo-nuclear war.

There is no task more important than this one at present, there is not, nor can there be! All other tasks, goals, etc., should be relegated to second or third place.

It was not by chance that this was the central question at the jubilee session of the Warsaw Treaty Organization in the capital of Poland, and in the documents adopted there. A number of new and important proposals were put forward in Warsaw with the aim of curbing the arms race and ensuring world peace.

Naturally when we speak of peace, we have in mind a democratic and just peace. Only a democratic and just peace can have prospects, only under such conditions can the questions of halting the arms race and starting gradual disarmament be resolved.

In short, *our position, the position of the socialist countries, including the People's Republic of Bulgaria, is that there is no weapon, either thermo-nuclear or conventional, whose production cannot be stopped if we sit down and agree under mutually beneficial conditions to preserve parity.* There should be no double-talk, but a dialogue under equal conditions. We are ready to sit down and settle these problems, settle them honestly, settle them in observance of the rules of the interrelations of states, while taking into account the rights and interests of the security of all countries.

In regard to us in particular, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, as you know, we are, luckily or unluckily, situated in the heart of the Balkan Peninsula. In the past the Balkans were a 'powder keg'. History has bequeathed to us many controversial problems. But if we, the peoples of our Peninsula, were to start delving into everything, we should always have to be ready to fly at each other's throats.

We consider that the realities in the Balkans are realities elucidated by everything which came as a result of the Second World War, as a result of Helsinki, and we endeavour to take these realities strictly into consideration. We have absolutely no claims — either territorial or whatsoever — on our neighbours. We have no claims whatsoever on any state in the world, on any people. Our only desire is to live in peace, to live in understanding. The People's Republic of Bulgaria pursues a consistent, principled and honest policy of peace, good neighbourliness and mutually beneficial cooperation with all the other Balkan countries. And we shall also go on unswervingly pursuing this policy in the future.

We must say that through the efforts of all the Balkan countries — and of course, also as a result of international developments — good relations have been established in the Balkans notwithstanding the complicated situations which arise and will, maybe, arise in the future too. *We have succeeded in establishing a climate of trust and good neighbourly cooperation. This policy and these achievements attained through the common effort of all the Balkan countries are a great achievement. They are in the interest of the Balkans, in the interest of detente and understanding in Europe and in the world.*

As one of the 160 world states, socialist Bulgaria sincerely wishes the world to advance along the path of detente, along the path of peace and understanding.

Bulgaria is a construction site. Wherever you go you will see that something is being constructed, something is being made, transformed. These are not only tasks set forth in our plan, these are not items in the budgets of the respective organizations entrusted with ensuring funds according to the plan. This construction work is a nationwide undertaking. Our people have rolled up their sleeves and are building. They have already come out of their age-old backwardness and are now struggling to take a place among the most advanced peoples of the world. What we are building is not being built, of course, to be destroyed. We are building it to bring happiness and prosperity to our people. The people are building it themselves and they understand this. Our people are politically mature, they know very well that peace is the first and most important condition for building at the present stage of the developed socialist society in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

So, dear guests, dear friends, you can rely on the People's Republic of Bulgaria, on her efforts to contribute, within the range of her possibilities, to understanding between peoples, to overcoming the present international tension and continuing along the path of the '70s to detente and understanding between different countries and different peoples.

HARMONIOUS INTERRELATIONS OF SOCIETY AND NATURE – THE TASK OF ALL MANKIND

Dear Guests and Friends,

Allow me to pass on now to the third problem – *the relationship between man and nature.*

Man and nature are indissolubly linked. Nature is not only the natural environment in which the human race came into being and was formed but also the source of the means of existence. Mankind did not come out of the blue, they are part of nature. As Engels put it, we belong to nature and exist in nature with our flesh, our blood and our reason.

History teaches us that any 'spoliation' of nature, any recklessness and consumer attitude towards it has always had,

has still and will have dangerous consequences for mankind. In recent times great and serious problems have arisen in the interrelations of man and nature, problems which are engaging the attention of all mankind and cannot but agitate and worry them.

Some bourgeois ideologists hold that the upsetting of the *ecological balance*, which was formed naturally in the historical development, is the result of the present-day techno-scientific revolution. It is true that this revolution has brought about tremendous qualitative changes in the evolution of human life.

First, the contemporary techno-scientific revolution has radically transformed the *production base* and continues to change it both quantitatively and qualitatively. This revolution actually created and is continuing to create a production base, new in principle.

Second, the techno-scientific revolution has radically changed the *material surroundings and the conditions for the life of the people*, it has become the foremost factor in the considerable rise in the efficiency of human activity, in making it more intensive.

Third, the techno-scientific revolution has created conditions for the rapid development of *social consciousness*, for raising the intellectual capacities of man.

All this is true.

Another thing, however, is also true that *in the conditions of the present-day techno-scientific revolution, on the basis of which industrialization is taking place today, considerable damage has been done and is still being done to nature.* You are familiar with the data being published on the use of natural resources. They are rather alarming. I should like to remind you of some of them only.

It is said and is probably true that in the last 500 years man has destroyed two-thirds of the forests on this planet. Hundreds of plant species have become extinct. They were destroyed.

The air, our atmospheric ocean, is being polluted more and more. Gradually and uncontrollably the content of carbon dioxide is increasing. Specialists have calculated it by millions and millions of tons annually. And the possibilities of the atmosphere are not unlimited. It cannot take in everything which is released in it.

It has been proved that about ten million tons of oil and all sorts of other refuse are dumped in the world ocean annually. Its capacities, too, are limited.

The signals of the pollution of soil, rivers and lakes are also alarming.

But, dear Guests, Friends and Comrades, it would be unfair to throw the blame for all this on our contemporary techno-scientific revolution. That would be incorrect, for it is just the opposite. *In its nature the techno-scientific revolution is and can be our great 'ally' in harmonizing the relationship between society and nature.* If this has not yet been done it is not the techno-scientific revolution which is to blame but the people. *Therefore the questions of creating harmonious relations between man and nature are above all social questions.*

The techno-scientific revolution is not a curse but a blessing if a given society, country and people have succeeded in harnessing its truly cosmic powers for the well-being of mankind.

We believe that one should not take up the same position as some bourgeois ideologists who dramatize the problem of the disturbed ecological balance on the earth and one should not be pessimistic about it. *The awareness of danger is the signal for action, not for pessimism.* I agree that we should not underestimate and neglect the warning of scientists and other specialists. But mankind must have the power to deal with this disaster now, because tomorrow or the day after tomorrow, it may prove catastrophic for the whole planet. And in connection with this I repeat again that the techno-scientific revolution is and can be our powerful 'ally' in harmonizing the interrelations of society and nature.

Here is a field for fruitful and noble cooperation among all of us, small and big states, advanced and developing countries. These problems, like the problems of peaceful coexistence and the problems of war and peace cannot be settled by individual states no matter how big they are. They can be settled only through the efforts of all states, of all peoples. This is so because these are cardinal problems, concerning all mankind, the people, including the ordinary working people, their respective organizations and so on and so forth.

The ecological problem is a vital problem for all people. And to solve it successfully the energy and talent of all peoples must be mobilized. What is now being done in this sphere is insufficient.

It should not be forgotten that whatever we do we come to social problems. How will man influence nature, will he approach it barbarously or with attentive care – all this is determined, in the final count, by the nature of the social system, by the correlation of the social forces, by the ultimate goals and tasks of production, by whether they are orientated to society or to directing the lion's share of the riches to a limited part of it. All this is highly important.

Irrespective of this, I repeat again, we can and must pool our efforts now in order to harmonize the interrelations of society and nature. *This, however, can be achieved only in conditions of peaceful coexistence, of peace and detente. This is the preliminary and the most important condition for uniting our efforts to solve the ecological problem.*

Recently the tackling of the ecological problem has been closely associated with the raw materials problem, the energy problem, and the food-supply problem. These problems, too, call for sober analysis and re-assessment.

It is true that in connection with the rapid development of the productive forces of modern civilization some of the so far traditionally used *raw material resources* are being increasingly exhausted, the 'share of income' they bring in is, so to say, decreasing. Apart from this something else should be taken into consideration – the lack of all 'divine justice' in the distribution of the raw materials and energy resources on the earth. Take us, for instance: the dear Lord treated us unjustly, nature treated us unjustly, in not giving us sufficient raw materials and energy. We import oil, gas, coal, metals and so on and so forth. Nature has simply treated us unjustly and it is apparent that not only Bulgaria has been treated unjustly, many other states have been treated unjustly, too. But for all that, there are raw materials in the world and there will be.

The question is whether we should settle the raw material problem with military force and confrontation or not?

Some circles in the West see no other way of settling the raw material crisis than by resorting to military confrontation. They imagine that they could take the raw materials and energy by force from the countries where they are available without taking into account the fact that these are the national wealth and property of the respective countries and these circles scheme to plunder them for ever and ever. They do not realize that such a policy can lead at any moment to local confrontations, and cause a third thermo-nuclear world war. That is not and cannot be the way. And here peaceful coexistence is necessary and here we need a dialogue and here joint efforts are necessary to settle the raw material and energy problem.

The techno-scientific revolution reveals sufficient new possibilities of settling this problem. Incidentally, efforts are already being directed towards seeking substitutes for raw materials, towards prospecting for new energy resources, etc. At this stage we are using chiefly our primary resources, i.e. what nature has given us, but there are other enormous potential possibilities. Science has still to start tapping them and putting them at the disposal of mankind. That is how the question of raw materials and energy stands. It should not lead to a conflict, to tension, to interference in the affairs of other states, but should be settled on the basis of peaceful coexistence, friendship, dialogue and ever more efforts should be put into seeking other potential possibilities. If we continue to drift along, this problem may lead to extremely grave consequences for mankind, from local conflicts and tension it could grow into worldwide tension, into a world conflict.

On the so-called food-supply problem.

We all know that this problem is particularly acute in such regions as Africa and Asia and even in some strata of the population of the advanced Western states. But it is mainly a problem of the countries which were formerly under colonial slavery and have only recently cast off colonial dependence.

We have more than once set forth *our positions on this problem*. It is also a social problem and cannot but be such.

In their theories various bourgeois ideologists maintain that undernourishment and hunger on our planet are due to demographic factors, to natural, so to say, factors such as high

birth rates, lower soil fertility, etc. There is not a grain of truth in this. These pseudo-theories should be smashed to smithereens. The truth, as you know, is quite different. The year before last I visited Nigeria, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. According to the present standard of living in Africa, Nigeria alone could feed the entire population of that continent. The same is true of Angola and Mozambique. Ethiopia has exceptionally good soil conditions and could settle the problem of feeding her own population altogether and even the problem of feeding some neighbouring state. And so on.

That means the problem does not lie in the shortage of resources for feeding the population. According to the data of the respective international organizations dealing with problems of food supplies, it is necessary to treble the present-day production of consumer goods to be able to meet the needs of the entire population in the next 20 to 25 years. And this is completely feasible. If for instance Nigeria, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia and other countries introduce the organization and the technology we have in Bulgaria's agriculture today, the picture will be drastically changed. These countries will not only meet their own needs, they will have surplus output. This means that these countries are not to be blamed, their peoples are not to be blamed, for having remained backward for centuries.

Are mankind in a position to help these countries? I am absolutely confident that they are. But the question here is also one of peaceful coexistence. Now imperialist propaganda has been trying to scare some peoples and ruling quarters with the bogey of the Soviet Union – that the Soviet Union was going to occupy them, to rob them of their wealth, etc. Fabrications! This propaganda may mislead some people for a while, may have a temporary effect. But life is life and asserts itself. Is there a way out? Yes, there is! The way out is for these peoples to solve their problems themselves. But to do so they ought to be given a helping hand in terms of funds, the training of their own experts, etc. Where are the funds to be raised for this. If 8-10 per cent of the 400 or 500 billion dollars now being spent on armaments were set aside, the problems of food supplies, poverty, illiteracy and stamping out most diseases would be settled. Eight to ten per

cent would settle the problems. Consequently the problems are social and not demographic of course, they will not be solved all at once, there will be difficulties, but the perspective will be clear.

In solving the food and other cardinal problems we derive confidence and optimism from our own experience and the experience of a number of other countries.

What was Bulgaria until the victory of the socialist revolution?

Bulgaria was the last but one of the most backward countries in Europe. Only Albania was more backward and this was certainly not the fault of the Albanian people. And now Bulgaria is an advanced industrial-agrarian country. Our agriculture can now feed a Bulgaria and a half, in about 1985 it will be able to feed two and after that – three. In its arable land our country holds one of the last places in Europe. How could Bulgaria solve these problems, and countries with such vast and fertile lands such as the African countries – I take Africa as an example but this could apply to other regions as well – could not settle their problems? What are the reasons?

These are the wonders which took place and are still taking place in Bulgaria. They have been and are being worked by our people under the leadership of our Communist Party, in joint efforts with the Bulgarian Agrarian Party, to which great credit must go for solving the problems in our agriculture. We have relied on the assistance (reciprocally given and taken) and all-round cooperation with the socialist countries, above all with the Soviet Union. At present we have a large army of well-trained specialists and thousands of our specialists are also working in other countries, but formerly the situation was altogether different. Within the range of her powers and possibilities, how is the People's Republic of Bulgaria tackling the cardinal problem – the relationship between man and nature – in our own country, and what contribution is she making and preparing to make in the future to its solution on a world scale?

The question of environmental conservation and of improving our people's living milieu is a state policy laid down in the Constitution. It is explicitly and unequivocally set forth in the Constitution that this is one of the cardinal problems – a problem which must be resolved by our Party and State

leadership, by the public organizations, etc. The Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria has decreed that *the struggle for the conservation of the natural environment should increasingly assume the character of a nationwide cause.*

We have set up at all levels of state government appropriate organs in charge of the conservation and reproduction of the environment. There are such organs in the State Council – the highest instance in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, in the Council of Ministers, in the counties, in all the conurbations.

The Fatherland Front organization, the Trade Unions, the Hikers' Union are all committed to this cause. Our comrades in the Bulgarian Agrarian Party are taking an active part in it. The study and elucidation of ecological problems are compulsory in all the higher institutes of learning, in the whole system of education, as well as among the population. With full justification we can declare that we have given nationwide significance to this problem.

In our five-year and yearly plans there is a special section on environmental conservation. In the current five-year plan period, which ends this year, 900 million levs have been allotted to the conservation and restoration of the natural environment. In the next five-year plan, which is being drawn up now, over 1,000 million levs are envisaged for this purpose.

Besides this I must note that in afforestation we rank among the first countries in the world. It is true that we continue to fell trees in our forests, but we shall leave to coming generations enough forests and timber, because we afforest from 40,000 to 50,000 hectares of land every year. Over 1.6 million hectares have been afforested in the years of people's rule. This is 49 per cent of the country's woodlands and 14.6 per cent of its territory. You can imagine what it means: 49 per cent of our forests, which you can now see, are new, planted in the years of people's rule.

Special organizations have been formed to restore the natural environment, to combat erosion, to reclaim land – organizations covering nearly all the regions. Vast territories denuded of forests in the past – wastelands and land severely affected by erosion – have been turned into forests, fertile land, orchards and market gardens, which have been of help in curbing erosion processes, and in increasing timber supplies and

which have radically improved the natural scenery of the country.

Of course, we do not delude ourselves that the problems bound up with environmental conservation in our country have been fully solved. But what is the most important in this? The important thing is that it is a state policy, that it has been endorsed in the constitution; that a system and organization has been evolved and the ecological problem has now become a nationwide concern.

You are now in Bulgaria. I should be very pleased, if it is possible for you, to go round and see something of our country. If you look through data on what Bulgaria was like up to the 1944 revolution, and on what it is now, you will see a radical change. At that time bare hills could be seen, scree, a barbarous attitude towards forests, and so on.

Wherever you go today, you will see scores of beautiful places in our homeland — a fully renewed country — the vast new and virginal forests of the Rila, Pirin and Rhodope Mountains; the Black Sea tourist resorts stretching along the coast like gems; well-built towns, villages and residential areas; the green belts in the Dobroudja plain and many other things — you will see a country which is a veritable garden created by our people's labour.

Our approach is to show understanding and respect for nature, to tend it wisely and judiciously, to ensure a harmonious relationship between society and nature.

That is why the *People's Republic of Bulgaria takes an active part in all international undertakings and initiatives dedicated to this problem.* Recognition for the active role played by our country in solving ecological problems is the dissemination of 'The Basic Guidelines for the Conservation and Reproduction of the Natural Environment in the People's Republic of Bulgaria' as an official document in the UN. The results of the efforts of many countries, including our country, was the signing of a convention in 1978, on the prohibition of military or any other hostile use of environmental modification techniques, which was ratified and is strictly observed by Bulgaria. Several years ago, a symposium was held in Bulgaria along UNESCO lines to study the experience we have gained in restor-

ing the natural environment and in combatting erosion. Our country took a number of initiatives in drafting the respective conventions and agreements between the coastal countries concerned in protecting the River Danube and the Black Sea from pollution.

We hold out our hands to all big and small nations, to all countries, to all parties for joint action not only in political, economic and cultural cooperation but also in ecological cooperation so that our Mother Earth should bear ample fruit, both for us and for coming generations.

* * *

Dear Guests,
Dear Comrades,

In conclusion, I should like to stress most emphatically that the problems of peaceful co-existence, of war and peace and the relationship between man and nature are bound up together and cannot be discussed apart from each other.

But, of course, the main leading one at this stage, especially at the present moment when the international situation is aggravated and attempts are being made to go back to the 'cold war', is the problem of war and peace. It is acquiring exclusive importance.

We put forward this question honestly, frankly and clearly. This, however, does not mean that we are in panic, without perspectives. By no means! We know that *there are forces which will not allow adventurism to prevail, neither in the present set-up nor in the future.*

Adventurism cannot be a determinant, constant trend in world development. Mankind have vital forces, not only in the socialist countries, but in all countries of the world. These forces are the ordinary people and a great part of the present leaders of states, politicians and public workers, who are fully aware of what the confrontation some are seeking to impose on us today, would in fact imply. Mankind cannot be steered to a 'cold war'! That is an impossible variant.

Well, it is true we have reached extremes, we could not go any further. And I should like to ask some strategists of the West: all well and good you have brought about an incredible

rise in NATO's arms expenditure. You have come to a decision on this. It's a fact. You have gone further and restricted economic, scientific and technical contacts with the Soviet Union. Well, you can consider you have decided that issue too. But see, with the Olympics you are out of luck: you tried to spoil the Games but they sprang a boomerang on you. The Olympics will be held. And some will have to find an answer to give their people why their sportsmen are not going to Moscow.

And now, when all is said and done, what next. I should like to ask those who steered this course what they will undertake next – further on? Further on only arms remain. Yes, arms, but arms are already something different.

We have respect for the USA – it is a big state. We have respect for its technical genius, for its people – we have respect for every country and all the peoples. We want to live in peace and cooperate with each other. We resolutely reject the course which leads to armament.

We laid the talks between Leonid Brezhnev and Valery Giscard d'Estaing, between Comrade Brezhnev and Chancellor Schmidt. They bid fair. That is the way – the way to dialogues, discussions and exploration of possibilities of finding a way out of this situation.

I am deeply convinced and I believe that this highly responsible forum will not fail to contribute to the relaxation of tension in international relations. All the more so as you, the representatives of agrarian and other democratic parties, organizations and movements, are involved both in the formulation and the solution of present-day world problems.

And in this hope, in this belief and in this aspiration, I wish your meeting great success.

Thank you for your attention.

(Verbatim report)

Selected Works, Vol. 30, pp. 510-548

WITH THE EFFORTS AND WILL OF ALL PEOPLES FOR UNCOMPROMISING STRUGGLE FOR LASTING AND JUST PEACE

*Speech
delivered at the opening of the
World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace
September 23, 1980*

Distinguished delegates and guests,
Distinguished comrades,

It is a high honour and great pleasure for me to be able to greet all of you, the delegates and guests of the World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace, on behalf of the Bulgarian people, the State Council and the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and on my own behalf, and to wish you complete success in your noble work, as well as a pleasant stay in this country.

Our country, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, is not big, our people is not numerous, but its heart, the Bulgarian heart is big and hospitable. *It is with an open and clear face that we hail the convocation of the World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace, and we welcome you all with our 'Dobre doshli!', with the conviction that the present meeting in Sofia will be yet another triumph of love of peace, of the peoples' unshakeable and sacred will to live in peace.*

There is hardly any need to prove that the efforts of governments alone will not suffice to eliminate the threat of a thermo-nuclear war, to make peace triumph throughout the world. What is needed is decisive and united action by the various parties, organizations and movements; what is needed is the conscientious will of all peoples, so that the nightmare of war, destruction and their victims may disappear forever, so that happiness and prosperity may be guaranteed to the present and future generations.

This high forum is a happy occasion for us to express our pleasure with the fact that the world front of peace has been seeking and finding new active forms and means of struggle. There is no doubt that the World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace will be a high rostrum from which the peoples' voice for peace and against war will resound resolutely and indomitably.

This Parliament will be a high rostrum of political parties and organizations, of national-liberation movements, of scientists, artists and cultural figures, of the entire world public.

I would like to assure you that the entire Bulgarian people is living with the problems of your high forum, is looking forward with profound interest to its deliberations and trusts that it will provide a fresh impetus to the joint and concerted action of the champions of peace on the planet.

Dear delegates and guests,

Dear comrades,

The subject which you will be discussing in the next few days is vast and has numerous aspects. It has repeatedly been in the focus of attention of politicians and statesmen, of scientists, men of culture and the arts, of representatives of various religions and generations. You will be analyzing its different aspects, and you will be seeking the ways you consider best for the consolidation of peace. This subject is one of deep concern for our own people, its state leadership and its public organizations.

All of us, participants in the present World Parliament of the Peoples, are united by

One Idea, One Thought, One Concern: to Preserve and Strengthen World Peace.

We all agree that we are living in a complicated and controversial age, that our time is witnessing stormy and multifaceted developments, that sharp turn-about and deep-going revolutions are taking place in the various spheres of life.

— We are now living on the border-line between two decades in this Twentieth Century. From this vantage point it is even more obvious that *the planet is a giant mosaic of different states and social systems, which are in constant motion and are undergoing different processes.*

All these processes give rise to numerous problems for the peoples — social problems, political problems, economic

problems, spiritual problems, etc. And each people tries to solve these problems, tries to find the right path that will guarantee it progress and bring it prosperity. It can be confidently stated that the solutions to be found for these problems will determine the future of the peoples, the future of mankind.

However, we would be simplifying the picture of the present-day world if we failed to take into account the main, crucial fact, namely, that all these problems intersect and focus on the problem of peace, on the problem of liquidating the danger of a thermonuclear catastrophe.

I have stated on various occasions and I would like to underline once again at this high forum:

There is no other problem on which the fate, prosperity and existence not only of individual classes, of individual peoples or regions, but of mankind as a whole, depends as much as it does on the problem of preserving and strengthening peace.

This is the problem that overshadows all others in importance.

We keep on speaking, and we shall never tire of speaking on this problem. There are things of which one cannot be reminded too frequently.

— Just a few months ago, we marked the 35th anniversary of the defeat of nazism and still more recently, of Japanese militarism, as well. The Second World War took a toll of 60 million lives and caused material damage worth 66,000,000 million dollars. The peoples will never forget bestial fascism and its crimes. They learned many a lesson from that war.

But everything suffered by humanity in the past pales before the threat posed by a future world war. Far from being just another war, it would be a truly destructive nuclear missile holocaust.

No one can determine precisely the dimensions of the catastrophic aftermath of such a war for the whole of mankind. *One thing, however, is beyond any doubt: a thermonuclear war would threaten the very existence of human civilization.*

That is why the prevention of a new world war is an issue of prime importance, a cardinal issue facing all people, humanity as a whole. No other problem facing mankind could be solved if peace is not preserved and consolidated. Not a single one of the

problems and contradictions of our age can be resolved through war.

Why is that so?

First and foremost, because colossal quantities of weapons have been amassed, capable of destroying life on our planet.

— According to experts' estimates, the existing stockpiles of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons equal in power one and a half million bombs like the one dropped on Hiroshima. Or, in other words, there is an average of 15 tons of explosives for every human being, from the new-born babies to venerable old people.

— Thousands of most sophisticated vehicles have been developed able to deliver nuclear and thermo-nuclear warheads to the furthest points on Earth within a few minutes.

— Besides, there is a danger of a rapid proliferation of nuclear arms. According to some sources, 52 countries in the world now have research centres capable of producing plutonium for nuclear bombs, and 24 states have nuclear power plants which yield each year 'raw materials' for the making of some 2,000 bombs like the one dropped on Hiroshima.

But while the prospects of a nuclear war sound horrible, it should be pointed out that *still more alarming are the plans for the future refinement of the means of warfare*. There have been increasing reports of late that the West is attempting to develop environmental modification techniques for military uses, such as the causing of giant floods or earthquakes, the destruction of the Earth's ozone shell in definite locations, and ways of affecting human psychology.

As a result of these developments in military technology, there will be no front-line and rear, no neutral or non-belligerent states, no friendly or hostile states. There will be no difference between the classes: it would be impossible, for instance, to destroy the working class while leaving the bourgeoisie intact, or vice versa. There will be no chance to differentiate between good and bad people, between those guilty for the disaster and those who were innocent. Regardless of whether the war will be waged between two, three or several states, whether its battle-ground will be on one continent or another, a heavy toll will be paid by all states, including those which will not be the target of a direct nuclear missile strike.

Naturally, the countries and continents with the highest concentration of weapons will face a particularly tragic fate.

— Recently, for instance, I read that in Europe the concentration of troops and equipment is about 20 times higher than the world average.

This, then, is the situation at present. Peace or war, life or annihilation of mankind, these are the alternatives. War is becoming an absurdity. This is the truth that should be perceived and taken into account by each and everyone, from the ordinary man to the statesman.

The peoples' continuous and persistent struggle for lasting peace was crowned by major achievements during the seventies. Detente became a predominant trend, confrontation gave way to peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, and the danger of the outbreak of a nuclear war began to recede. This boosted the peoples' faith in the liquidation of the nightmare of war, in the guaranteeing of a cloudless sky and calm nights for the present and future generations.

All this was, of course, achieved with a lot of effort, with persistent struggle on the part of peace-loving forces. Tremendous obstacles had to be surmounted. And this is understandable. The contemporary world is extremely complicated, and there are differences and contradictions between the two social systems.

But regardless of the fluctuations, and deviations, the seventies will go down in history as a decade of major successes in the struggle for peace, as a decade which reaffirmed the possibility of solving international issues by peaceful means in our age, the possibility of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, the possibility of removing the danger of a world thermo-nuclear war.

Regrettably, the situation in the world deteriorated sharply on the threshold of the eighties. The chilling breath of confrontation was felt once more. Certain well-known forces are rattling their sabres, staking on the 'policy from the position of strength', flouting cooperation agreements, blocking political and economic contacts, the exchanges of cultural and scientific values, sporting and tourist links.

It is evident that at the start of the new decade the world has entered a new, complex and responsible stage in the development

of international relations. Preparations for war are now proceeding at an accelerated rate.

Everyone is aware that the actions of the USA and NATO cannot but cause a chain reaction. *In this respect, logic is merciless. The countries threatened by these moves cannot but take steps for their own protection and defense.*

Consequently, the major problem in this case is that of identifying the original cause of the new tension in the world. We are alarmed by the moves of the US ruling circles, pushing the world towards a further escalation of armament. And such an escalation is inevitable if they do not give up their present policy.

A new 'strategy of limited nuclear wars', substantiated by President Carter in his 'Directive No 59', was recently announced.

From the viewpoint of common sense this strategy is absurd, as there cannot be a limited nuclear war. Given the present and future possibilities of war, this strategy is purely and simply a suicide. No country, the USSR in the least, will sit idle and humbly wait for its nuclear missiles to be destroyed by the enemy.

This strategy deals *a heavy blow on the confidence between states.* It sharply increases the danger of a thermo-nuclear war.

I would like especially to point out *the danger it poses for Europe, the continent on which we live.* Even children know that if powerful nuclear missiles hit one end of Europe they will produce lethal aftermaths right up to the other end!

— The US is trying in vain to assure its Atlantic partners that the new strategy does not threaten them in any way. Here no one should entertain any illusions. What is needed is realism and only realism. We say, and we rightly say, that peace is indivisible. But today thermo-nuclear war is indivisible, as well.

The conclusion is only one: militarism and war are in the interest of no people and no country. They will not help any social system to solve its problems.

— They run counter to the interests of the peoples building the socialist society.

— They impede the countries which have liberated themselves from colonialism from surmounting rapidly the poverty, diseases, illiteracy and hunger they inherited.

— They are putting on the peoples of the capitalist countries the heavy burden of military expenditures, making it easier for the exploiters and dictators to trample on democracy, the rights and freedoms of people and to infringe upon other countries' sovereignty and independence.

In the Declaration of the Conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty adopted last May, the socialist countries proclaimed once again their Programme for Peace and Security in the world. In view of this, it was proposed to call a European conference on the problems of military detente; to start without delay talks on the question of nuclear missiles deployed in Europe, etc.

Dear friends and comrades,

We are alarmed by the fact that the threat to world peace has grown of late. But our concern is one which generates a resolve to act, a readiness for practical action. It has nothing to do with the grim prophecies of the inevitability of war, with the suggestions that war is imminent and that even the time of its outbreak can be predicted.

Politicians, peace-loving forces and the peoples oppose their own platform to the ominous prophecies and to the intensive preparations for their realization.

What are the premises of such a platform?

In the first place, the conviction that wars in our times are not fatally inevitable, that the danger of war is not a sword of Damocles under which mankind has to live in fear, with the thought that one day it is sure to be struck by it.

It is absolutely clear to us that in the contemporary complicated world there are contradictions which could lead to crises and conflicts. But we know that today war is not the way to solve problems, but a suicide for mankind. At the same time we firmly believe that there are forces in the world today which are greater than the wishes and intentions of the warmongers, and that these forces could compel them to keep their hands off weapons.

Wide opportunities for preventing war and for excluding it from life in the future are offered by *the policy of peaceful coexistence.*

We know that the main differences between capitalism and

socialism cannot vanish by themselves, that each system will try to prove its right to existence, its advantages. But, in our view, all this does not necessarily mean that we should reach for the nuclear bombs and missiles. In our view, the dispute between the two world systems can and should be conducted in conditions of world peace, of peaceful coexistence and competition between states with different social systems.

In the second place, further premise of the platform of peace is the conviction that in order to have peace in our times, relations between the two world systems should be based on parity and equal guarantees of their security. Every attempt to violate this principle undermines international security and leads to an escalation of tension.

Naturally, neither the economic might nor the military forces of the states of the two systems consist of completely identical or exactly comparable components. International practice, however, has shown that we can measure the relative weight of each element they consist of, that we can find a mutually acceptable compromise on the basis of relative parity.

A case in point are the series of agreements between the USSR and the USA on curbing the race in the field of strategic arms, and particularly SALT-2, signed in Vienna in 1979.

In the third place, in our struggle for peace we proceed from the conviction that disarmament is not a myth but a real possibility.

Some influential forces are, indeed, trying 'to prove' that the interests of their countries could be protected only in conditions of military superiority. Life, however, has proven the opposite.

Today no military superiority can be achieved. Neither the USA and its allies, nor the Soviet Union and its allies will put up with a disturbance of the balance. Where will the arms race lead to when it already consumes over 500,000 million dollars per annum; when the energies of over 65 million people are still being wasted today in the armies and the war industry; when an ever greater part of the rapidly dwindling natural resources is being squandered in this most insane fashion!

The arms race does not only increase the danger of war. It is also a war in itself, bloodless only on the surface because with the forces and funds it consumes mankind could save hundreds

of millions of its children from poverty, hunger, diseases and death!

The reality and feasibility of disarmament are confirmed by the successes achieved in the past decade. The agreements signed and the talks being held on various questions cogently show that this is a fully attainable goal.

In the fourth place, our premise is also the conviction that world peace should be lasting and just.

Our aim is not to put off war, to win a short respite between two wars. The period following the Second World War has shown that contemporary mankind is able to break the tragic regularity of the past when peace was only a pause between two wars necessary for the growth of a new sacrificial generation.

Lasting peace can only be a just peace, peace based on the recognition of the rights of the peoples and on respect for the main principles of international law – equality and sovereignty, non-interference in the countries' internal affairs, mutual benefit in international relations.

In the fifth place, the platform of the struggle for peace is based on the conviction that peace and democracy are indivisible just as war and violence are indivisible.

Only in conditions of lasting peace and peaceful cooperation can democracy develop and strengthen and human rights and democratic freedoms reach a higher degree of expression: That is why we regard as an unforgivable crime the encroachment on peace, the advocacy of national and racial hatred.

I will probably not be wrong in saying that all these considerations allow us to view the problem of peace and war as an important moral problem of our times.

Today the cause of peace is a vivid embodiment of humanism in our times, of the struggle for a new and just world. This active humanism lends the peace movement additional attraction and greatly multiplies its inner force.

The struggle for peace is a supreme synthesis of the moral values which characterize a society – its goals, its policies, its leading figures. The attitude to the struggle for peace is a criterion of the moral principles and moral responsibility of the different political movements, parties and governments, of every man.

Such are, dear friends, some of the basic principles of the platform upon which the peace-loving forces are rallying today, irrespective of their racial, national, class, religious or other differences.

Dear friends,
Distinguished guests,

We all believe in the ultimate victory of the cause of peace, cooperation and progress. *Peace should and can be safeguarded! War should and can be avoided! The thermo-nuclear self-destruction of mankind should and can be prevented!* This confidence stems not only from the human faith, as old as the world, in the triumph of light and goodness over darkness and evil. This belief is also the result of the sober analysis of the correlation between the forces and factors that stand for peace and those opposing peace.

We can declare without hesitation:

The Peace-loving Forces Have All They Need to Guarantee a Lasting, Irreversible and Just Peace on Earth!

- For us this is not only a theoretical possibility.
- For us it is not a propaganda formula.
- For us it is not an expression of artificial political optimism.

Never in the history of mankind has there been a more fateful problem whose solution demanded so full and so global a mobilization of the consciousness and will of all people.

What we have in mind is a qualitatively new political consciousness, capable of perceiving the real course and the motive forces of the historical process, the real contradictions and the real ways of surmounting them. I think that the dimensions of this new and realistic political consciousness are now clearly apparent, that it is growing stronger, developing and yielding fruit.

Furthermore, I believe that today the impact of political realism on world politics is powerful enough to neutralize the forces of militarism and reaction. The world peace movement has accumulated tremendous experience and reliable resources enabling it to defend peace. The objective today is to achieve a qualitative leap forward in favour of detente and peace.

In the light of this, taking into account our forces and possibilities for action and in order to attain the great goal, it is necessary to view things in two aspects.

First, from the standpoint of politics, of relations among states and between the two world systems.

We believe that the successes and the guarantee for the successes lie in the policy of peaceful coexistence, of disarmament. We believe that this policy is not only the sole right path, but also a historical reality. As is known, *the whole world socialist community* is guided by such a policy.

The principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems were first proclaimed by the Soviet Union. And the fact that today the world lives in peace is to a very great extent due to the principled policy of the Soviet Union. In speaking of everything that the Soviet Union is doing for the cause of peace, we cannot fail to mention with the warmest words of gratitude *the exceptional contribution made by the great fighter for peace of our time Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev.*

The realities of the fight for peace are such that its success is unthinkable without the active efforts of the socialist community. Should anyone try to present the fight for peace without the socialist countries, or outside them, he would objectively doom to failure — whether deliberately or unconsciously, the great cause of peace. Such is, in our view, one of the basic truths of the struggle for peace and security.

Naturally, this in no way means that we underrate the tremendous contribution made by the other countries and forces to the noble fight for peace. World peace is indivisible not merely in a geographical sense. Equally indivisible are the various contingents of the peace-loving forces, and the task is to mobilize the efforts of all factors, movements and organizations which stand for peace. Mankind could only benefit if all states started a new race — not an arms race, but a race to promote peace.

An ever more significant place in the gigantic battle for peace is being taken by the young national states which have cast off colonial or semi-colonial dependence. Although seeking different ways to overcome the economic backwardness they have inherited, these countries also constitute a substantial factor in the fight for peace and justice. Their influence and weight in international life are steadily growing and they are becoming full-fledged participants in world politics.

Just a few words about *the role played by big and small countries in the fight for peace*.

Naturally, the big countries, and especially the countries known as the great powers – the nuclear states, permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, bear a major responsibility for the preservation of peace in the world. They have received a lot, as it is sometimes said, and a great deal is therefore demanded from them. All peoples, all human beings look to these great powers for sober actions and a sensible policy in favour of peace, detente and disarmament.

But the cause of peace is so immense and so vital to each and every one of us that it draws together the efforts of all peace-loving states. Moreover, as it sometimes happens, and as is known both from past history and present-day political development – the spark of a major war may flare up also between countries small in territory, population or wealth.

– Therefore we consider that *in the cause of peace there are no big and small states*. We all have to do everything possible and even the impossible, in order to reaffirm just and democratic peaceful relations on our planet.

A significant role in the consolidation of peace is also played by *that part of the ruling circles in the capitalist world* who approach the present international situation realistically and soberly, realize the danger of an outbreak of a world war and appreciate the economic benefits of normal relations between socialism and capitalism.

In the second place, the prevention of a thermo-nuclear war as a feasible reality should be considered *from the viewpoint of the fight for peace* waged by public organizations, by the people's masses.

What I have in mind here is both the activity of the World Peace Council – the initiator of the present international meeting, and the activity of all peace-loving forces in general.

The working class, the working people, the peoples have tremendous possibilities of exerting influence on governments in favour of the policy of peace and cooperation.

– The voice of the peoples must ring out even more clearly, more resolutely. And, as is known, 'vox populi, vox dei'. There

is no power on earth that could stifle the voice of the people, that could oppose the will of the people and crush it.

Such is the irrefutable truth. And we all rejoice that the world peace movement is fully aware of it. Every gain of the peoples of all continents, every victory scored by them in the struggle for detente, peace, freedom, independence and progress – all incorporate the efforts of the most mass social force on our planet too – the movement of the champions of peace from all continents and countries. Objectively, there is no other social movement today capable of rallying together tens and hundreds of millions of people, of organizing their actions, of compelling the opponents of peace to increasingly comply with their wishes and longings for a calm and peaceful life.

In the name of this great goal we have to find together the ways to ever more closely coordinated joint initiatives of all peace-loving organizations, movements and forces on a national as well as on a world scale. It is necessary to overcome differences on second-rate issues, not to allow any sectarian or narrow-minded attitude, to rally all, in every way possible, round the cause of peace, because peace can be achieved only by a maximum unity of forces.

The youth and the intelligentsia have a significant and responsible role to play in the fight for peace.

Naturally, we all love peace, but the young people on this earth now starting on their path in life, wishing to fulfil themselves in work, in art, love and so on, are the most natural and most enthusiastic fighters for peace.

– A young man's heart is open to all that is honest and noble, he is willing to embrace great ideas, to fight and even to sacrifice himself for them – countless are the bright examples of heroism and self-sacrifice in Bulgaria's past as in the whole history of mankind.

We are called upon to do everything in our power to draw the great majority of the youth in the fight for peace and happiness.

– In many countries the youth is confronted with insurmountable hardships: unemployment, militarization, spiritual impasse. Young people reject the capitalist reality in their search for ideals and a meaning of their existence. Unfortunately, hav-

ing lost faith, out of despair, they not infrequently find a deceptive way out in narcotics, in an escape from society, in violence. One of the tasks of the peace movement is to attract the young men and women of the world, to hold up to them real and lofty goals, to inspire them to a pure and noble life, to a struggle for peace and for human happiness.

The *intelligentsia*, thinking people the world over, those who propel forward science, technology and the arts, who are aware of mankind's enormous potential for progress, who regard peace as an essential condition for this progress, form yet another large and prestigious detachment in the fight for peace.

The next consideration I would like to dwell on relates to the place of the working class, of the communist and workers' parties in the struggle for peace.

The working class is the best organized and most powerful social force, whose interests fully correspond to the interests of peace. The communists, the vanguard of the working class, do not claim a monopoly in the struggle for peace, do not close themselves in their own ranks. They are always ready to join forces with all other parties, organizations and movements. We realize full well that the communists cannot win the battle for peace on their own. But we also wish to declare that the fight for peace cannot be won without the working class, without the communists, those sincere and dedicated fighters for peace.

I would like to recall here the Paris meeting of European communists and workers' parties held late last April.

As you know, this meeting was devoted precisely to the problems of peace and detente. The meeting and the appeal it adopted to the workers, peasants and intelligentsia, to trade unions and religious leaders, women's, youth and other organizations for the preservation and strengthening of peace, showed yet again that the communists most sincerely seek a constructive dialogue and joint action with all democratic and peace-loving forces, movements and organizations.

Distinguished delegates and guests,

Distinguished comrades,

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize once again: whatever problem of our times we turn to, the conclusion is but

one: each and every one of these problems is related to the most cardinal, most fateful problem — the problem of peace, of detente, of international security.

In different parts of the planet imperialism and reaction provoke and foment military hotbeds, fan dangerous conflicts, sow distrust and discord; blood is being shed and people are perishing.

Tens of millions of the inhabitants of our fertile planet are dying of hunger, malnutrition and disease.

Mankind is thinking with increasing concern of the conservation of the natural environment.

And the solution of all these problems depends, first and above all, on one thing: halting the arms race, preserving and consolidating world peace, expanding and deepening understanding and cooperation among states and peoples.

In assessing the present international situation, we consider that we can view the future with optimism. *We are convinced that with the common efforts of the peoples, of the parliaments and governments, of the parties and organizations, of all people, no matter where they live and work, the cause of peace, justice and progress will triumph!*

We stand for the unification of all peace-loving forces, irrespective of their party, religious or other affiliation.

We stand for the unification of all who appreciate the value of peace, the need for cooperation and the danger of war!

We wish successful work to the World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace, which, we are profoundly convinced, will make an invaluable contribution to the mobilization of world public opinion for still more active and fruitful work and struggle in the name of peace, in the name of the happy future of mankind!

Thank you for your attention!

Selected Works, Vol. 31, pp. 5-27

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

*From the Report of the CC of the BCP
before the Twelfth Party Congress,
March 31, 1981*

Comrades,

The intensive work of the people and the Party for building a developed socialist society was carried out in a complex, contradictory and dynamically changing international situation. The world parted with the seventies and entered into the eighties of our century. The past decade was rich in major events of paramount importance for the course of world affairs, for the development of international relations. On the whole mankind has reason to keep a good memory of it.

First of all these were *years of signal achievements and victories of the cause of peace and detente*. As you know, the Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth Congresses of the CPSU drew up and proclaimed a *Peace Programme*, which we also adopted as our own programme. It is a programme imbued with realism, foresight and deep humanism. It points the way for the solution of the most topical, most burning issues of contemporary international relations, for strengthening the course toward detente, restoring and increasing confidence among states, for eliminating the danger of a nuclear war. That is why this programme corresponds not only to the interests of the Soviet people, but also to the vital interests of all people the world over. *The Peace Programme of the CPSU is being gradually, although not easily, translated into life. (Applause)*. On the initiative of the USSR and Comrade Brezhnev personally, the historic success at Helsinki was achieved, which created new conditions, a new political climate in Europe whose beneficial consequences and

effects can be felt throughout the world. Under the impact of the initiative and proposals of the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community, including the People's Republic of Bulgaria, talks were started on disarmament and military detente, which are following their difficult path, and are undoubtedly playing the role of a positive factor for promoting the spirit of peace in international relations.

At the same time, the question of peace is increasingly becoming *a problem and concern of the peoples themselves, who have intensified their struggle for peaceful development of the world*. The peace-loving forces carried out powerful peace campaigns which produced good results. It will not be forgotten that just such a campaign foiled the plans for stationing neutron weapons in Western Europe. The World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace, which convened in our capital last year, the Assembly 'Banner of Peace', which on our initiative and under Bulgarian hospitality set the beginning of the world children's movement for peace, received international recognition.

Emphasis should also be laid on the ever more active involvement in the fight for peace of men of science and culture, of people whose ideas and views influence the broadest masses of people. We were organizers and hosts of the now traditional international writers' meeting in Sofia, of the meeting of ministers and men of culture and other meetings of the intelligentsia from all over the world, and we have been directly convinced that the creators of science and culture will do their utmost for the triumph of peace, for safeguarding the principal right of man — his right to life.

In reviewing the successes of the course toward peace and detente, we cannot but give a positive appraisal to the realism and sober approach of a number of leading political figures of the capitalist states, to their contribution to the solution of contemporary international problems.

Naturally, the successes of the cause of peace should not prevent us from seeing the difficulties on its path, the growing resistance of the reactionary forces. We cannot turn a blind eye to the activation of the warlike circles in the USA, to the stumbling blocks obstructing the talks on disarmament and military detente. We cannot underestimate the decisions of NATO for

deploying new US medium-range missiles in Western Europe, for an annual increase of military expenditures, the sharp increase of the US military budget, the intensified military activity of imperialism in different regions of the world, or the harm done by the hegemonistic foreign policy of China. All these events and facts go to show that *the successes of the cause of peace give grounds for optimism, but they by no means give us the right to be self-complacent. In this struggle there is and there will be no time for rest. New initiatives and efforts at all levels and in all parts of the world are needed to guarantee the peaceful existence of mankind.*

Let us not doubt that people and the nations of the whole world will do all they can for the victory of the sacred cause of peace. The future of mankind belongs to peace and only to peace! (Prolonged applause).

Comrades,

During the decade which has passed the world has moved forward toward socialism and communism.

Significant success was achieved by the Soviet people who under the leadership of the CPSU entered the epoch of communist construction, a new epoch in the history of society. The decisions of the 24th, 25th and 26th Congresses of the CPSU, the new Soviet Constitution which was adopted, the outstanding achievements of the USSR in economic and cultural construction, in the development of science and technology, in the solution of the material and spiritual problems of man – all this *theoretically and practically sets the main milestones along the new road which the other countries and peoples will be embarking on.* (Applause).

The other countries of the socialist community have also made new major strides in their development. As you know, most of our countries are building a mature socialist society. Tremendous achievements have been scored in the development of the economy, science, culture, in raising the living standards of our peoples. The new type of relations continue to strengthen and develop between the fraternal countries, based on Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism – the new kind of internationalism which appeared together with the appearance of the socialist community. Its principles of fraternal friendship and

solidarity, of comradely mutual assistance, guide the relations between our countries and peoples, they are a powerful unifying force in the common struggle for building socialism and communism. (Applause). Our unity and cohesion, our actions toward the common goal, the specialization, cooperation and integration in the field of the economy, the united actions in the international arena, the fraternal cooperation among our armed forces increase our might, enable us to surmount more successfully the inevitable difficulties on our way, to solve more easily the complex tasks of socialist and communist construction, to rebuff the enemies of socialism and peace.

The victories of the peoples of Ethiopia, Mozambique, Angola, South Yemen, Afghanistan, who opted for a socialist orientation of social development, are of great importance for the world. They are an irrefutable proof of the fact that today in the struggle for freedom and independence, for social justice and progress, every people who really succeeds in taking its destinies into its own hands *turns its back on capitalism and takes up the socialist path of development.* (Applause.)

The world communist movement as a whole is developing successfully, scoring fresh successes, seeking and finding new forms and methods of action and struggle, of communication, solidarity and unity of action between the communists. The actions of the communist parties in support of the struggle of the peoples against the encroachments of imperialism and hegemonism, against the aggressive decisions of NATO of 1979, etc., were impressive manifestations of proletarian internationalism. The marking of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution was a real celebration of the communists' ideological unity. Great successes were noted by the Berlin conference of European communist and workers' parties, the Paris meeting for peace of the European communist parties, the conference on Socialist and Communist Construction and World Development, organized in Sofia by the Bulgarian Communist Party and the *Problems of Peace and Socialism* review, and other communist forums.

Our movement does have its problems and its differences. But that is not its main, characteristic feature. The main thing is

that its unity is cementing, that its strength in the struggle for the common goal is constantly growing. (Applause.)

There is not and there cannot be any doubt that communism will march forward, that it will continually achieve new successes. (Prolonged applause.)

Another feature of the seventies was *the aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism*. An energy crisis and a raw materials crisis broke out, and the struggle for markets grew more acute. Inflation assumed unprecedented dimensions, and unemployment bore down heavily on the working people as a real calamity. It became the constant grim fate of 15 to 20 million people. Imperialism sustained resounding defeats in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Capitalism to a decisive extent lost its position as an example and a way for social progress for the peoples of the developing countries. Not only the communists, but also political forces and movements of a democratic and progressive character turned against the capitalist model.

All these difficulties, losses and defeats of imperialism during the seventies converged as in a focus and found expression in a crisis of unprecedented gravity affecting the chief leading power of capitalism — the United States of America. The US economy ceased to be omnipotent in the capitalist world. US policy suffered grave losses in different regions of the world.

The defeats and losses of imperialism stimulated revenge-seeking moods and ambitions, which gradually took the upper hand in the foreign policy of the US and in the policies of some of its allies. The attacks against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries of the type of the failed campaign for human rights, were followed by attempts to launch an all-out offensive against existing socialism, to isolate the Soviet Union from other countries and peoples. As you know, the former US administration broke off top level contacts, foiled the ratification of SALT-2, introduced restrictions in trade with the USSR and went so far as to make a pitiful attempt to stage a boycott of the Moscow Olympics. Naturally, *that was a road to nowhere*. The other anti-Soviet actions also failed. History showed that it is not possible to talk to the Soviet Union from the position of strength. That was true in the years 1917-1922. It was true in 1941-1945. And it is equally true today! Unfortunately, some of the first

steps of the new US administration also show that there are still people who do not wish to understand this.

China plays a special role in the revenge attempts of imperialism. Continuing to pursue its anti-Soviet, hegemonistic policy, the Chinese leadership supports reactionary forces the world over, lays claims towards neighbouring and other countries, interferes in their internal affairs and goes as far as open aggression. The last few years have witnessed complex and contradictory processes in China which reveal the unsoundness of the Maoist course, the harm done by the distortions of socialism in that country. The cultural revolution was condemned, the personality cult of Mao was debunked, many victims of repressions were rehabilitated, the rule of law, legal order, etc. began to be discussed. But we will have to wait and see where all this will lead to. We will welcome every positive change in China and we are ready to develop further our inter-state relations with the People's Republic of China. The Bulgarian people feels deep respect for the Chinese people, for its ancient and rich culture, its revolutionary history, its struggle for freedom and independence, for socialist development. We have faith in its future, in the positive role which it can play again in our common struggle for the triumph of the communist ideal. (Applause.)

Comrades,

It was in this complex and contradictory situation that the international activity of the Bulgarian Communist Party was carried out during the period under review. *In pursuance of the foreign policy line mapped out by the Eleventh Party Congress, all efforts of our Party and state in the international arena were directed at developing the process of detente, at strengthening world peace and creating favourable international conditions for building mature socialism in the country. We were guided and are invariably guided by the deep conviction that today there is no more important or vital task than guaranteeing the peaceful development of the world.*

Giving expression to the will of our people, allow me to declare solemnly: *we, Bulgarian communists, all working people in the People's Republic of Bulgaria have adopted the Peace Programme of the CPSU, which was updated and further developed by its 26th Congress, as a programme of our own! As*

a Party, as a state and as a people, we are doing and will continue to do our utmost for translating it into life! (Stormy prolonged applause.)

True to its principled and consistent foreign policy, the People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue to pursue a course of peaceful cooperation and understanding with all countries and peoples.

Comrades,

During the period under review the main priority of the foreign policy of the Bulgarian Communist Party was *the strengthening of the cohesion and unity of the socialist community, the development and enrichment of the relations of friendship and all-round cooperation with the parties, countries and peoples of the Soviet Union, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Laos, Mongolia, Poland, Romania and Vietnam*. Our political relations and contacts at all levels became consolidated, the scale of economic cooperation increased and its forms became more varied, scientific and technical relations expanded, cultural exchanges grew, our peoples learned more about each other. We can say that our relations with the fraternal socialist countries were raised to a new higher level. *(Applause.)*

The socialist community countries are our main economic partner. Trade with them increased by more than 50 per cent during the period under review. Specialization and cooperation of production have developed on a broader scale. Economic integration within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance is being stepped up. The documents on long-range collaboration, specialization and cooperation signed with the fraternal socialist countries as well as the long-term goal-oriented programmes for cooperation within the frameworks of the CMEA serve as a basis for this. They will make it possible to increasingly shift the centre of trade with the fraternal socialist countries from the traditional forms of trade, above all to the development of production specialization and cooperation, joint planning of individual products, industries and whole sub-sectors and sectors, joint construction of capacities, cooperation in the sphere of science, industrial transfer and the mastering of new machinery and technologies, etc.

Life has set new tasks which call for the further perfection of CMEA. We are in agreement with and support the Soviet proposal for the holding of a meeting to discuss this question.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria has always been and will be a loyal member of the socialist community. Our freedom and independence, our all-round development are most intricately linked with the destinies of the countries fraternal to us — our loyal and selfless friends. We are doing and shall be doing our level best for the strengthening of our political and defence alliance — the Warsaw Treaty Organization. *(Prolonged applause.)*

Guided by the principles of socialist internationalism, we extend our fraternal solidarity and support to the Polish United Workers' Party and to all true Polish patriots. We express our profound conviction that the party of the Polish communists and the Polish people will resolutely rebuff the internal and international reaction *(Stormy prolonged applause)*, that they will lead Poland out of the crisis and will ensure the further successful socialist development of the Polish People's Republic. *(Prolonged applause.)*

The Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian people express their deep respect and unreserved support to the Cuban Communist Party and the Cuban people *(Stormy prolonged applause)* for their revolutionary fortitude and consistent internationalism, for their contribution to the struggle against imperialism, to strengthening peace and understanding among the peoples. *(Prolonged applause.)*

The Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian people pledge their solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea in defence of their independence, territorial integrity and revolutionary conquests, and will continue to accord them fraternal assistance. *(Stormy prolonged applause.)*

As heretofore, we support the struggle of the Korean people for a peaceful and democratic unification of its country, without any foreign interference. *(Prolonged applause.)*

During the period under review, as always before, *the cornerstone of our activities has been the all-round strengthening of fraternal relations with the Communist Party of the Soviet*

Union, with the great land of the Soviets, with the Soviet people. (Applause). Following unswervingly the course of increasing all-round closeness and cooperation between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union, these relations have acquired an even richer content and have been raised to a qualitatively new level. The visit of the Bulgarian Party and state delegation to the Soviet Union in 1977 and the visit of Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev to Bulgaria in early 1979 were important milestones along the way of all-round cooperation and inscreasing closeness between our two fraternal peoples in the political, economic, cultural and ideological spheres, which have become an inalienable feature of our daily life. The General Scheme of specialization and cooperation in material production between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the USSR up to 1990 is being successfully implemented. Far-reaching contacts are developing between Bulgarian districts and Soviet oblasts, between economic and scientific organizations, work forces, between millions upon millions of people of the two countries. *(Prolonged applause.)*

Comrades, the relations between our two countries and Parties are indeed an example of socialist internationalism in action. Under the leadership of their communist parties the Bulgarian and the Soviet people are jointly making a concrete contribution to the exploration of new directions and forms of uniting the peoples marching on the course of socialism and communism *(Prolonged applause.)*, of strengthening the unity of the socialist community. Following this course and with joint efforts, we are bringing closer the time of the all-round economic, ideological and political integration predicted by Marxism-Leninism, the time of the voluntary fraternal union of the free peoples of the world. *(Prolonged applause.)*

From the rostrum of the Twelfth Congress we would like, on behalf of the Party, of the whole Bulgarian people, to extend to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to the Soviet people, and personally to our comrade, friend and brother Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, our deep appreciation and gratitude, springing from the depth of our hearts, for everything they are doing for the flowering of Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, for the all-round might

of the world socialist community, for the cohesion of the international communist and workers' movement, of all democratic and anti-imperialist forces, for the triumph of peace in the world! (Stormy, for long unabating applause.)

Comrades,

As a Balkan state, the People's Republic of Bulgaria quite naturally attaches exceptional importance to the situation in the Balkans and to the development of relations with the neighbouring countries.

We can note with satisfaction that even in the current complicated international setup, the situation in the Balkans is relatively calm. Positive changes have been realized by common efforts, important progress has been made in the mutual relations of the Balkan countries. This is a great achievement of our peoples. *(Applause).*

A substantial contribution to this has been made by the principled and consistent policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, a policy of peace and understanding, of friendship and cooperation, a sincere, honest and constructive policy not seeking any ad hoc advantages or cheap prestige, pursued with a sense of responsibility for the present and future of the peoples in the region. This policy has earned the recognition both of the broad masses of the people and of the ruling circles in neighbouring and far-away countries. *(Prolonged applause)*

Our all-round relations with the *Socialist Republic of Romania* are developing successfully. These are relations between two fraternal states – members of the Warsaw Treaty and of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance; linked with a Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance.

Our relations with the *Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia* are making headway. Although they have not as yet reached the level befitting relations between two neighbouring socialist countries, we are optimistic about their future and irrespective of certain difficulties we are working patiently and consistently for the development of lasting and broad good neighbourly cooperation in all areas. Raising relations between our socialist countries to a new height is fully in keeping with the interests both of the Bulgarian people and of the Yugoslav peoples.

We are working for the complete normalization and further development of relations with the *People's Socialist Republic of Albania* on the basis of mutual respect, equality and mutual advantage.

We are satisfied with the progress made in our relations with the *Republic of Greece*. They have continued to develop actively in a spirit of good neighbourliness and amity. Our ties with the *Republic of Turkey*, too, continue to develop well. We are convinced that the further strengthening of the climate of confidence with our southern neighbours will open up fresh possibilities of expanding and deepening mutually beneficial cooperation in different areas, which, in turn, will contribute to peace and the well-being of our peoples.

Our ties with the *Republic of Cyprus* are developing in a spirit of friendship and mutual advantage. The People's Republic of Bulgaria invariably stands for a peaceful and just settlement of the Cyprus issue in the interest of the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots, preserving the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the republic.

When we assess positively the political climate in the Balkans we are far from idealizing matters. The Balkans are a part of Europe, a part of the world, and it is perfectly clear that the general state of international relations exerts and will continue to exert a direct influence on the atmosphere in the region. The complex contradictions of our time are present here, too; Peace, understanding and cooperation are clearly not to the liking of certain imperialist and reactionary circles which are trying to destabilize the situation, to re-kindle national enmities and distrust among the Balkan peoples. It is not the interests of the Balkan peoples but foreign interests that are served by the accumulation of nuclear and other arms, the existence of foreign bases and troops, the searching of the past to rake up facts which are intended to set us against one another.

The Balkan peoples know from their own experience that they can expect nothing good from such actions. We believe that they will not let themselves be deceived, they will foil the attempts to give back to the Peninsula the sad notoriety of the past. We also believe that the responsible factors will show statesmanlike wisdom and foresight in order to guarantee peace and calm on the Peninsula.

By signing the Final Act in Helsinki, Bulgaria and its neighbours accepted the post-Second World War realities, solemnly declaring that they will develop relations of security and cooperation. The Balkan peoples, like all other peoples in Europe and the world, need such relations because they serve the cause of peace and social progress.

Therefore:

- mindful of the lessons of history, we consider that efforts should be made for the steady improvement of the climate of trust in the region;

- we again declare our readiness to follow the path charted in Helsinki, so that the Balkans may turn into a stable region of detente;

- in accordance with the principles of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, we are ready to sign bilateral agreements with the neighbouring countries, which would include a code of good neighbourly relations, renunciation of territorial claims, not allowing the use of the territory of the parties to the agreement for purposes and actions hostile to one another.

- we are in favour of a further expansion and deepening of bilateral cooperation in the sphere of the economy, tourism, science, culture, education and sports, which is to give even more abundant fruit for each country, contribute to the acquaintance of our peoples and be a factor for strengthening peace and security on the Peninsula;

- having in mind that the Balkan Peninsula is situated on the road between Europe, Asia and Africa, we are in favour of developing cooperation in the sphere of transport and communications, which will be in the interest of many countries and peoples;

- we are ready to continue cooperating with the other Balkan countries on a multilateral basis on matters of mutual interest in those specific areas in which agreements have already been reached.

From this rostrum let us once again clearly declare *that through its foreign policy in the Balkans, the People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue to do everything necessary for the establishment of peace and understanding, of trust and friendship,*

for the promotion of cooperation with all Balkan countries and peoples. (Prolonged applause.)

Comrades,

Our country, in pursuance of its peace-loving foreign policy, in the period under review developed actively its relations with the *capitalist states* on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. The high-level meetings with the leaders of the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, Austria, Portugal and other states played a role of considerable importance. Our relations with France and Italy are also developing well. Progress has been achieved in our relations with the Netherlands, Belgium, Spain, Switzerland and the countries of Northern Europe. We are making efforts to improve relations with the USA and Great Britain. The meetings and talks with business circles in these countries have yielded useful results. Economic, scientific and technical cooperation as well as cultural exchange with the capitalist world is not only of mutual interest but is also conducive to the improvement of the general climate in inter-state relations. Together with the other states of the socialist community we shall continue to make efforts for the establishment of democratic principles in trade, in scientific and technical cooperation with the capitalist countries.

Our relations with the *developing countries* have marked considerable progress. Our political relations have been intensified and our cultural contacts have been expanded. We are developing broad economic, scientific and technical cooperation with the majority of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, exchanging experience and rendering assistance in the construction of a number of industrial and other projects, of agro-industrial complexes. Thousands of Bulgarian specialists are contributing to the economic construction of these countries.

The friendly relations with India, Libya, Syria, Algeria, Mexico, Nigeria, the People's Republic of Congo, the People's Republic of Benin and other states are developing well, expanding and are being enriched.

Our people, as it is known, welcomed with sympathy the anti-imperialist revolution in Iran. We maintain traditionally good relations with Iraq. The hostilities between the two countries in the last few months have created a new hotbed of tension

in the region of the Middle East and seriously harm the interests of both Iran and Iraq. The Iranian-Iraqi war is solely in the interest of imperialism which makes every effort to recover its lost positions in that part of the world by taking advantage of the conflict. Our position is clear — an end should be put to the war and controversial issues should be settled at the negotiating table.

The Bulgarian people has pledged its solidarity with the peoples fighting for freedom and national independence. This is the position of a people which has itself fought for many years a bitter struggle for overthrowing foreign and capitalist bondage. This is a position embedded in the nature of our socialist system.

From the rostrum of the Congress we are happy to hail the victory of the people of Zimbabwe and extend our militant greeting of solidarity with the peoples of Namibia and the Republic of South Africa, who are fighting against imperialism and apartheid, for winning national independence. *(Prolonged applause.)*

We express our solidarity with the patriots of El Salvador who are fighting courageously for the freedom and independence of their country. *(Prolonged applause.)*

We warmly greet the peoples of Nicaragua and Grenada wishing them fresh successes in their struggle for freedom, democracy and social progress. *(Prolonged applause.)*

The People's Republic of Bulgaria expresses its solidarity with the states of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front and with the Palestine Liberation Organization. *(Applause.)* There is no other way for the just and lasting solution of the Middle East problems than the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967 and the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination and the establishment of their own independent state, respect for the sovereignty and independence of all states in the region. *(Applause.)* That is why we support the proposal of Comrade Brezhnev made at the 26th Congress of the CPSU for convening an international conference on Middle East issues with the participation of all countries concerned. *(Applause.)*

The movement of the non-aligned countries plays and will continue to play an important role for easing tensions in the world and for detente. The People's Republic of Bulgaria values

highly the contribution it has made so far to the struggle against reaction and imperialism, for strengthening world peace and understanding among nations.

Our relations with the states which have chosen the *socialist path of development* account for an important share of our international activity. These relations have been built on the community of our interests in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, for social progress. During the period under review the People's Republic of Bulgaria signed bilateral treaties of friendship and cooperation with Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia. Relations between our Party and the MPLA – Party of Labour, the FRELIMO Party, and the Socialist Party of Yemen, among others, have deepened.

Our mutual relations with the other states upholding and consolidating their freedom and independence are also developing successfully.

Since the very first day of the April Revolution in Afghanistan we have unreservedly supported the Afghan people and its vanguard – the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. We express our solidarity with the fraternal international assistance of the Soviet Union, rendered at the request of the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, in defence of its sovereignty and national independence, democratic and peaceful development. (*Prolonged applause.*) We condemn the imperialists, hegemonists and other reactionary forces which render armed and other support to the counter-revolutionary gangs and have raised this gross interference to the rank of a state policy. We support the proposals of the Afghan government for a peaceful regulation of outstanding problems, secure guarantees being provided that the intervention against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan will be stopped.

Comrades,

The further expansion and deepening of our all-round cooperation with the fraternal communist and workers' parties has been one of the main trends in the activity of the Bulgarian Communist Party in the period under review. The Bulgarian Communist Party is a champion of the steady consolidation of the communists' unity and cohesion, of a broad exchange of the experience gathered by every fraternal party, of a collective dis-

cussion of the new and pending problems of world development and of the struggle of the international working class for peace and socialism. We are united by the great and immortal teaching – Marxism-Leninism. We are united by the great principles of proletarian internationalism. *I should like to extend from this rostrum and on your behalf, comrade delegates, on behalf of all Bulgarian communists, ardent greetings of solidarity to the scores of millions of communists – our brothers and sisters across the planet. (Stormy prolonged applause.)*

The Bulgarian Communist Party stands for broad cooperation with all democratic, progressive and peace-loving forces in the world. In this connection I should like to express our gratification at the development of contacts between the BCP and certain socialist parties in recent years. With an open heart, we are seeking a constructive dialogue and joint action with the social-democrats, the trade unions and religious leaders, with all democratic and peace-loving forces, movements and organizations.

Dear comrades and guests from fraternal and friendly parties from all over the world, I should like to assure you that *the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Party of Georgi Dimitrov, will continue in future to work devotedly for the strengthening of the unity of the communist movement, for the deepening of cooperation with the revolutionary-democratic parties and movements, with all progressive forces waging a struggle against imperialism and reaction, for freedom and independence, for peace and social progress. (Stormy prolonged applause.)*

This is the will of the Bulgarian communists! (Prolonged applause.)

This is the will of the whole Bulgarian people! (Prolonged applause.)

* * *

Comrades,

Such is the picture of the contemporary world, such is the picture and the place of modern Bulgaria in that world in the days of the Twelfth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

There have been occasions in the 13-centuries-long history of the Bulgarian state when the interests of the ruling class have

temporarily coincided with the interests of the people's masses and Bulgaria experienced periods of flourishing and might. It is for the first time in our days, however, that the state is headed by the working class, whose lasting and ultimate interests merge with the radical interests of the people. For the first time the ruling class does not represent a negligible minority, but in itself, not counting the friendly classes and social strata, accounts for more than half of the country's active population. For the first time, by virtue of the objective laws of the socialist system, processes are taking place in our time which lead consistently and irrevocably to the class homogeneity of the Bulgarian nation, to a classless communist society in Bulgaria. (*Prolonged applause.*)

In its 13-centuries-long history Bulgaria has had thinkers of genius, poets and revolutionaries, great kings and military commanders, spiritual schools which were famous throughout the world and exercised influence on humanity's philosophy and culture. We take justified pride in them today. *However, never before in its 13-centuries-long history has Bulgaria had a people like the Bulgarian people of today – so highly educated and cultured, sharing the same interests, goals and ambitions, enjoying such a high international prestige, possessing such unshakeable faith in its forces and in its future.* (*Prolonged applause.*) *Never before in these 13 centuries has the Bulgarian people had such a brilliant thinker, such an inspired poet, scholar, organizer and leader as our own Bulgarian Communist Party.* (*Stormy, for long unabating applause.*)

In the year of its 13th centennial Bulgaria is striding confidently in the front rank of the states blazing mankind's path towards the realm of freedom – communism. Socialist Bulgaria has mighty and loyal friends and allies. Socialist Bulgaria need not worry about the security of its frontiers and the fruits of the people's labour. The thoughts and feelings, the strength and the life of its brightest minds and warmest hearts are not consumed in battles against domestic or foreign oppressors and exploiters but are devoted to the drive for the affirmation, development and blossoming of the existing socio-political system, because this is the system which our great predecessors, the saints and idols of the Bulgarian people, dreamed of, fought and died for. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Dear comrades, we have recorded enormous achievements in the years since the victory of the September 9, 1944 socialist revolution and especially in the last decade. Our souls are filled with legitimate communist and patriotic pride in these Congress days. All this is true, all this is very good indeed. But what is best of all, perhaps, is the spirit of sacred dissatisfaction with what has been achieved, of criticism and self-criticism, of creative quest for new and better solutions, for new horizons, that revolutionary and innovative spirit which is so characteristic of the Bulgarian Communist Party and is increasingly becoming a characteristic national trait of the Bulgarian people. (*Prolonged stormy applause.*)

With this same spiritual flame and creative fervour, onward, comrades, and let us call on the communists, the working class, the whole people to start the drive for the fulfilment of the decisions of the Twelfth Party Congress! (*Stormy prolonged applause.*)

Long live our own Bulgarian Communist Party! (*Stormy prolonged applause.*)

Long live our beloved socialist fatherland, the People's Republic of Bulgaria! (*Stormy prolonged applause.*)

Long live communism! (*Stormy, for long unabating applause. Standing ovation. The delegates' chanting 'BCP, BCP!' resounds in the Hall.*)

Selected Works, Vol. 31, pp. 448-474

THE BORDERLINE BETWEEN THE TWO DECADES,
THE '70s AND THE '80s SHOULD NOT BE
THE BORDERLINE
BETWEEN DETENTE AND CONFRONTATION

Speech

*at the opening of the International Meeting and Dialogue 'For Detente,
Peace and Social Progress'
May 21, 1981*

Esteemed guests,
Esteemed comrades,

Our country, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, has the great honour of hosting once again an international meeting and dialogue devoted to the biggest and most topical issues of our time, the problems of peace, detente and security in the world.

I appreciate highly and wholeheartedly thank you for the invitation to take part in your work, to share some thoughts on these vital matters which are the daily concern of our peace-loving people, too, and which have always been and will remain at the core of our international activity, of our foreign policy.

Allow me, before doing that, to greet you on behalf of the Bulgarian people, the State Council and the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and on my own behalf, to wish you all success in your meeting and dialogue and a pleasant stay in this country.

As in the past, so now we show special interest and respect for your meetings, because at them the representatives of the agrarian and democratic parties and movements centre their discussion on *the most crucial issue of our time: how to avert the threat of a thermo-nuclear war, and to preserve and consolidate peace.*

I have addressed forums like this one, where the problems of peace and security are discussed on several previous occasions. I would like to tell you sincerely that we shall never grow tired of discussing this topic, not only because today's is a dynamic

world, or because each new day raises fresh problems: the main and decisive thing is our constant concern with the consolidation of cooperation, friendship and peace in the world. For politicians, there is not, and there cannot be a truer indicator of foresight and responsibility before history than active involvement in solving these problems. A politician who today plays with the fire of war and puts peace in the balance is undoubtedly a politician, who belongs to the past.

Recently the Bulgarian Communist Party held its 12th Congress. The Congress of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party has just ended. Our two parties are fraternal parties, having common programme goals and aspirations. They work in complete unity of action and cooperation, cemented with the blood of numerous known and unknown fighters against fascism and obscurantism, in our common effort to build a new, socialist Bulgaria, to bring about the best possible conditions for the country's all-round development, for the wellbeing of the people in an atmosphere of peace and friendship with all other countries and peoples.

At our congresses we have discussed in detail and in depth the problems of detente and security, of the preservation and consolidation of peace. Peace is our cherished aim, in whose name we dedicate and will continue to dedicate all our resources, as parties, as a nation, as a state.

LET US NOT LOCK OURSELVES UP IN THE FORTRESS OF
MISTRUST. LET US CONDUCT A SINCERE AND CONSTRUCTIVE
DIALOGUE

Dear guests,
Dear comrades,

The first topic, which I would like to take up here with you, concerns the dialogue between the states, parties, politicians and peoples of today, the dialogue as a way to solving the present-day problems.

We are all aware that the problems facing the world today are neither few nor easy to resolve. I have said on numerous occasions, and I shall repeat again that *today our planet is a giant mosaic of many different states and social systems, which are involved in continual motion, in various political, economic, social, ideological and other processes.*

These processes give rise to many problems.

- Those are complex and difficult problems. The problems of the trouble-spots on our planet, for instance, are complex.

- Those are problems pertaining to the paths of a country's or a people's socio-economic development.

- Those are problems of the countries and peoples having now cast off the colonial yoke and seeking the best ways for consolidating their independence, for making progress and establishing themselves.

- At the same time, those are problems of a world in which, alongside the differences between ideologies and social systems, the general economic, technological, ecological and other problems, on the solution of which this world's future largely depends, acquire ever greater importance.

These are only a few of the problems faced by the world today. Yet in speaking of these problems, we are well aware that in the final count they are all related to the problem of peace, to the problem of international security and safety, to the problem of preventing a thermo-nuclear catastrophe.

Today the awareness of the first-rate importance of this problem is an awareness of the fact that it concerns the existence of humanity itself, or, to put it in another way, the existence of our planet. Much has been said on these questions, and it would be superfluous to put forward concrete facts. Were we to allow a new world war, it would not simply be one in a series of many, but a total catastrophe, a real tragedy. We must not allow the problems of our time to vanish together with the human race and life in general.

Our anxiety for the fate of peace is, therefore, an anxiety for life itself, anxiety for the people, anxiety for the present and the future.

Given this state of affairs, *the approach to the solution of the cardinal problems of our time, and primarily of the problem of peace, acquires prominence above all other questions.* No matter how diverse the aspects of these problems are, no matter how divergent the views on them might be, it is necessary today to *adopt a realistic approach* in discussing and solving them.

- Evidently this approach cannot be such as would allow each country or social system to cut itself off, to solve all its

problems on its own, to exist without contacts and interaction with other countries and peoples. This is clearly not the way to securing a life of peace for all peoples and countries.

- The approach we need today has nothing in common with confrontation or enmity between countries and peoples. It is to be regretted that some political and military circles continue to adhere to such an approach.

Normally, that approach is justified by claims that peace could be ensured by fear of a war, by an armaments race. We, however, are realists, having learnt the lessons of history. Constant confrontation and constant tension provides no ways and means for the preservation of peace; that is the way to warfare. No one should harbour any illusions about it. There can be no lasting peace in a world living on the edge of a precipice, and piling up new weapons.

No one, and I repeat and stress, no one today can resolve his problems from a position of strength, by trying to bring his partners down to their knees. No, in the present-day conditions of social progress and techno-scientific revolution, this road leads nowhere.

Consequently, what remains is the approach of cooperation, the approach of peaceful coexistence, and that presupposes a peaceful dialogue, a constructive dialogue, a dialogue of good intentions.

In these times of anxiety and tension it all boils down to: dialogue or confrontation.

No sober-minded politician can claim a monopoly on the issues of peace and security. Peace can be guaranteed only through the collective effort and good will of all countries. Each one should make its contribution and each one should follow its own road to that highly noble and humane goal. That is why *it is precisely a dialogue, a broad and constructive dialogue, a dialogue conducted with goodwill on an equal and mutually beneficial basis, that has today become the Number One means of solving the problems of states and of mankind as a whole.*

Let us not lock ourselves up in the fortress of mistrust, let us sit down and have a dialogue imbued by a mutual desire to solve problems to the interest of peaceful coexistence: this is the order of the day, this is now the indicator of realistic statesmanship

and political conduct. Those who have failed to grasp this, have failed to grasp what is most important in the present-day international situation.

— Admittedly, a dialogue might not always be smooth and easy. It is most frequently conducted between representatives of different socio-economic formations, upholding diverse ideologies and political doctrines. National peculiarities are also involved at times. All this is true. We must take historic realities into account.

But what is the main and decisive thing?

The main and decisive thing is that we conduct the dialogue with understanding for the other party, that we talk constructively, sincerely with a will to achieve understanding.

The main and decisive thing is that we conduct the dialogue so as to find ways and means of preserving and guaranteeing a lasting peace in the world.

This is the kind of dialogue I am concerned with. We could also discuss the matter as to which social system the future belongs to. But it would be much wiser to leave it to history to decide on this matter; to decide which principles, which ideology, which social order best correspond to the people's ideals. *What we need now is a dialogue to ensure for people a life in peace, to prevent a thermo-nuclear catastrophe.*

— It is evident that the peoples have a stake in such a dialogue.

— It is evident that such a dialogue cannot be conducted from a position of strength.

— It is no less evident that the present balance of power in the world makes it necessary to conduct the dialogue by taking into consideration the approximate military parity that has been objectively established in the course of decades.

Detente, as well as disarmament, is a two-way process, which must be promoted and guided through dialogue, and specifically:

— a dialogue of honest intentions, of goodwill, with an active positive attitude shown by all parties;

— a dialogue seeking just solutions of mutual benefit, rather than pursuing unilateral advantage and imposing the will of one party;

— a dialogue through which the positive achievements are constantly developed and enriched, and the accords reached are safeguarded with a sense of responsibility;

— a dialogue which is not restricted to debates and discussions, to the signing of accords, but which grows into effective action leading to concrete practical results.

It is precisely this kind of dialogue that the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the socialist countries are proposing.

Each one of us is no doubt aware that complications of one kind or another may occur in the present-day world. There have been, and there probably will be again, moments of acute tension. Nonetheless, we have no right to relinquish our weapon: the dialogue. It is through dialogue, step by step, that we should surmount all difficulties and consolidate peace. So that we may not leave only ashes behind us, so that the planet may not be deprived of its historic memory and future, the way open to us is to talk and seek mutually acceptable solutions.

In the existing conditions, such a dialogue is indispensable in discussing and resolving all issues. It can be conducted at different levels, with the participation of different social forces and factors.

An example of such a dialogue is being set by the present meeting, which can contribute to the discussion of the cardinal problems of our time, and especially of the problem of peace and detente. The agrarian and kindred democratic parties and movements have on numerous occasions provided an example of such a realistic and sensible approach.

We have pointed out on many occasions that *contemporary international developments are highly complicated and contradictory, which comes as a result of the actions of many different forces and interests.*

The tremendous importance of the social forces, of the popular movements, of the different parties and organizations in the struggle for peace, cooperation and social progress has been underlined at various forums and on different occasions over the past few years. It is a truth with an optimistic ring for the cause of peace that the working people across the world are becoming increasingly aware of their place in the struggle for peace and

detente, that many parties and organizations of different character regard the preservation of peace as one of the major tasks in their activities. This was manifested with special clarity at last year's World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace, hosted by this country.

There is a broad range of social forces acting in the contemporary international arena, and there is a lot that is useful, interesting and novel in their actions. But since today's meeting and dialogue has brought together representatives of agrarian and kindred democratic parties, I should like specially to emphasize the potentialities, role, importance and place of these parties and organizations in the contemporary world.

It seems to me that whenever the subject of such vital matters as the question of preserving life on our Mother Earth arises, *we should not adopt a quantitative measure in evaluating the contribution of one party or another, of one movement or another, to the struggle for peace.*

— Here, there is a place, a worthy goal and a noble task for each and every one.

— Like the parties of the working class, the agrarian and kindred parties, the parties of other social groups and strata could, too, contribute a lot to ensuring peace and cooperation.

I cannot agree with some assessments which claim an allegedly decreasing role of the agrarian parties and movements in the world.

We believe that there exists today, too, an objective basis for the activities of the agrarian and their kindred parties and movements.

These parties and movements are a major force in our days. Standing behind them are peacefully and democratically-minded people, people who are concerned with their countries' progress, with the preservation and strengthening of their national independence.

We value highly the fact that *as a whole, the foreign policy platform of the agrarian parties and movements is a platform of peace, cooperation and progress.* And this is one of the reasons why the agrarian parties have considerable influence in a number of states. Working people recognize their peace-loving policy and believe that when they participate in the government of the state,

they will pursue that policy honestly and responsibly. A number of agrarian parties are sincerely opposed to the arms race. On many issues of both internal and international policy, they seek to cooperate and act jointly with the other progressive and democratic parties, those of the working class included.

I should like to underscore emphatically that we respect the struggle of all agrarian parties and movements, regardless of their influence in a country's public affairs. At the same time there can be no doubt that the responsibilities and capabilities of each party — and this is equally valid for the communists, for the socialists, and for all others — are much greater when it is among a country's ruling parties.

When we are steering the ship of the state, our responsibility becomes much greater and in such a situation we can do still more towards the cause of peace, detente and disarmament in our countries and in the entire international community.

Let us use this opportunity to the full, for the weal of all people.

I think it is important to point out in this connection several factors in the struggle for the unity of all forces championing detente, cooperation and peace.

In the first place, given all the great successes of the world peace-loving forces and the indisputable results achieved in the consolidation of their unity, in the formation and development of active movements and organizations, today much broader opportunities are open to us. We are therefore faced with new responsible tasks in rallying and uniting still more closely all the peace-loving forces on the planet.

— Certainly this is no easy task, because the peace-loving forces differ in their character, class composition, psychology, readiness for joint action, etc. But unless they achieve unity and cohesion in practice, rather than in words, we cannot make further headway in the hard struggle for peace in the world.

In the second place, I wish to point out that the activation and rallying of the world peace-loving potential is not something that could happen without purposeful efforts, initiatives and actions. An awareness that war is an absurdity and the forces of peace are powerful is not in itself sufficient.

It is our common task to stimulate even broader sections of the working people and masses of the population in all countries, and especially in the advanced capitalist states, to conscious and energetic action in favour of peace. The unity of the peace-loving forces must tirelessly be strengthened, and their activities be organized and channelled to concrete initiatives in the crucial spheres of the fight for peace.

In the third place, I wish to emphasize that the struggle, in a cause of such principal, universally human value as peace, can in no way be let up, or any kind of sectarianism or underrating of the activity of any contingent of the peace-loving forces allowed.

— On the one hand, this refers to those who hold the view that the struggle for peace can be waged successfully without the communist parties in the socialist, capitalist or developing countries, without the unions, public and other mass organizations on whom they have authority.

— On the other hand, it also refers to those who are close to believing that in order that a party or organization take part in the peace movement it should more or less adopt the political slogans and goals of their own parties. We communists are convinced and consistent champions of peace. At the same time, however, we oppose any obstacles or conditions that might narrow down or restrict the contingents of the peace movement.

In the struggle for peace there is no room for rivalry, or for the isolation of one or the other progressive and peace-loving force. Differences on all other matters, however important they might be, should not obstruct the successful solution of the most important question, the question of questions: the preservation and guaranteeing of a lasting, just and democratic peace on Earth. We are now at a stage when any other approach would not only be erroneous but, moreover, dangerous to the cause of peace.

Therefore what we need now is a dialogue not a confrontation.

A dialogue between the USSR and the USA.

A dialogue between the East and the West.

A dialogue between states, parties, functionaries and the peoples.

A dialogue seeking ways of preventing war, safeguarding peace, and promoting detente, cooperation and disarmament.

THE CURRENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND OUR HISTORIC RESPONSIBILITY

Esteemed guests,

Comrades,

We have all been contemporaries as well as active participants in the positive international processes which assumed great scope during the '70s of our 20th century and have been rightly called *a breakthrough towards detente*. This was indeed, a breakthrough, for there followed, after the long and grim period of cold war, a tangible improvement of international relations; the ice of hostility and confrontation between the states of the two world systems began to thaw. Confrontation gave way to cooperation.

— It was with enormous gratification that the peoples welcomed the reciprocal declarations of the Soviet and US leaders to the effect that peaceful coexistence in our age has no rational alternative, as well as their commitment to do everything within their power to prevent the outbreak of a world war.

The '70s have convincingly shown that despite the contradictions between the two systems, despite the great differences in their political goals, with goodwill and joint efforts:

— it is possible to blaze a trail for the common action of states with different social systems in favour of peace;

— cooperation between them could develop successfully and detente could be strengthened;

— even the most complicated and unbelievably difficult questions could be negotiated and an agreement reached to the mutual benefit of the parties, while observing the equality and sovereignty of all countries and peoples.

This was a period in which *the idea of peaceful coexistence proved its viability most forcefully*.

It has been proved even more cogently that peaceful coexistence is an objective necessity of our time. Life has demonstrated the possibility of developing and enriching the idea of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. It has been proved that not only is coexistence possible in conditions of peace but, moreover, that a wide mutually advan-

tageous and equitable cooperation could develop in international relations.

If we should make a generalized and terse assessment of the '70s, what mainly characterized international relations was not just peace, not just the absence of a world nuclear holocaust, but far-flung cooperation between states, their readiness to seek joint solutions to a multitude of questions: from strategic arms limitation and the consolidation of peace and security in Europe, to joint space research.

Detente during the '70s was a qualitatively new state of international relations, a new climate in the world which gave rise to justifiable hopes for a lasting triumph of peace over war.

In the conditions of detente important steps have been made to curb the arms race, steps which have proved that it is possible, even in that particularly difficult sphere, to reach agreements based on common sense without infringing upon the interests or threatening the security of the countries, to slow down, halt, and in the future liquidate the massive military arsenal which is growing on our planet.

Detente has manifested its role and importance with particular force in Europe. In the same Europe where the main events of the First and the Second World War began and took place, in the same Europe which was the chief arena of the cold war and which more than any other part of the world is literally crammed with troops and weapons — detente assumed its greatest scope and yielded its richest fruit.

— The holding of the European Conference and the signing of the Final Act in Helsinki was a convincing proof of the need and possibilities for detente, of the viability of the policy of peaceful coexistence and cooperation.

Detente has convincingly proved that *trade, cultural, techno-scientific relations, tourist exchanges, sports, etc. are genuine envoys of peace*, that wherever they flourish the weeds of distrust and suspicion, of tension and hostility soon wither. Great headway was made in all these areas during the '70s.

— Thus, for instance, trade between the countries of the socialist community and the advanced capitalist states grew within a decade from 13,600 million rubles in 1971 to 68,600

million rubles in 1980. Broad contacts and cooperation were established between scientists and men of the arts and between scientific and cultural institutes of the East and West.

— A graphic example of the fruitfulness of peaceful coexistence and cooperation is offered by our country, the People's Republic of Bulgaria. In the 1970-1980 period Bulgaria's trade turnover with the advanced capitalist states grew about four-fold. In 1980 Bulgaria was visited by about three times as many guests from the non-socialist countries as in 1970, and the number of Bulgarians who visited capitalist countries grew more than three times.

Yes, we are pleased with the results of detente achieved during the '70s and we want it to continue, to deepen and to materialize. This does not in the least mean that the socialist countries, the communist and the revolutionary forces alone, or above all, draw unilateral benefit from detente. The capitalist countries draw as much benefit from it. Practice has proved that all countries — socialist, capitalist and developing alike, are interested in detente and benefit from it.

— Think of how much the West has profited from detente!

It has had a spell of relief from the cold war and has gained confidence in the possibility of eliminating the threat of a world war, of reducing our small continent to ashes. A peaceful solution was found to a number of problems pending since the Second World War, which undermined peace and cooperation among the European countries. The West enjoyed advantageous and wide-ranging economic, scientific, technical, cultural and other contacts with the socialist countries. What would the economic crisis be like in Western Europe, for instance, were it not for these contacts!

— Socialism, too, has profited from detente: it gained greater international security, more opportunities for solving the pending problems in the construction of the new society, more active foreign economic contacts, and wider scientific, cultural and tourist exchanges.

— The Third World, too, gained much from detente: the struggle for independence of a number of enslaved countries ended in victory; a whole group of states of a socialist orientation

emerged; the young developing countries were given considerable opportunities for overcoming their backwardness and poverty inherited from colonialism; their economic relations with the socialist and capitalist states developed on a large scale.

The forces of war and aggression alone did not and could not profit from detente and are therefore, disgruntled. They alone are interested in denouncing the fruits of detente, in declaring it to be advantageous to socialism only.

The strength of detente stems from the common stake of all peoples in strengthening and deepening it. This is the source of our optimism that detente will prevail and will, in the future too, be a main tendency in international life.

Unfortunately, after the significant successes of detente in the past decade, the '80s did not take up, so to say, the tune of the '70s. They started under the grim accompaniment of sabre-rattling and threats of force on the part of certain political circles and politicians.

Naturally, these actions deteriorated the international climate, created complications and, in some cases, tensions in the relations between states. On the whole the current international situation is alarming and dangerous. It is characterized by greater complexity and contradiction, by the multiplying of those elements which are causing justifiable alarm among the peace-loving people.

What is it that alarms us most particularly?

First, the attempts of certain quarters to undermine and bury detente and to take the world back to where it had been before the '70s. Steps are taken and methods applied which were characteristic of the period of confrontation and the cold war.

Second, the aspiration to act 'from a position of strength', to build up such a super-powerful war machine that would be awe-inspiring to every nation and every country and would enable the imperialists to retaylor the world according to their interests.

— US Secretary of State Alexander Haig recently said that he regarded the increase of American military strength as a preliminary step towards negotiations with the Soviet Union.

— Do not politicians launching similar attempts know well what the result of attempts at liquidating the military parity between the East and the West, between the USSR and the USA,

may be; is not the experience of the past thirty-five years since the victory over nazism and its allies an eloquent reminder?

Gun-boat diplomacy is long outdated as is even the policy of nuclear blackmail; the peace-loving forces shall not allow the forces of aggression to take the upper hand and to achieve military superiority. *We the socialist states have not aimed and are not aiming at achieving military superiority over the other side, yet we shall not allow such superiority over us.* The only result of this policy could be the stepping up of the arms race.

Third, it is the policy of involving the world in a new round of the arms race, for which the American leading circles are primarily responsible. This is not a matter of either the routine renovation and modernization of part of the weapons, or of increasing military budgets owing to inflation. It is a question here, as is borne out by US actions, of its intentions to carry out a qualitative leap, an all-out re-arming encompassing all weapons existing at present: from the missiles to the guns and machine-guns, to be accompanied also by the introduction of a number of new means of warfare. This should, as conceived by the military industrial complex, guarantee indisputable military superiority over a long period of time and dominant political positions to US imperialism over all other countries.

— To this end, increasingly greater financial, material and manpower resources are set aside, which reach almost astronomical proportions.

— During the last five years the US military budget has practically doubled to reach in the current year some 178,000 million dollars; the present US administration envisages it to reach 376,000 million dollars in 1985. The other NATO member-states are forced to keep pace with their senior partner, and so are many other capitalist countries.

Anyone concerned about the cause of peace cannot but be alarmed by the striking militaristic tendencies in the life of the USA, cannot but be worried by the thought where this rabid race along the armaments spiral would lead to.

Fourth. The continual falsifications in certain quarters concerning the nature and goals of the Soviet foreign policy, with the aim of driving home to the popular masses the myth of the 'threat of socialism' and, more specifically, of the 'Soviet

menace', which allegedly forced the West to take defensive measures.

The version is being persistently spread that the Soviet Union was using detente for two purposes:

First, for lulling the vigilance of the West and for slackening its military effort, for augmenting Soviet military preparations in order to gain real advantage, for instance in the field of medium-range missiles and conventional weapons.

Second, it is being insinuated that the USSR was using detente to import from the West modern technologies and equipment, which would increase its economic and military potential.

Is all this true?

If we analyze the facts we shall see that, for a long time now, there has been a relative military parity between the USSR and the USA, the Warsaw Treaty and NATO. This parity is not contested by responsible politicians, research institutes and specialists of either East or West.

— Former US President Carter spoke of it, confirming in public in the spring of 1979 the existence of a military parity between the USSR and the USA. The present US Secretary of State Haig, in an interview for the French TV programme 'Antenne-2', said: 'Many experts agree that we are at a point of relative balance and equivalence.'

Furthermore, allegations that the USSR drew unilateral profit from detente, from its economic relations and scientific and technical cooperation with the West are also groundless.

Indeed, is it not common knowledge that in the period of the cold war there were most strict prohibitions in the West on selling modern technologies and equipment to the socialist countries? Nonetheless, it was then that the Soviet Union made a number of colossal discoveries, which brought it to the forefront of scientific and technological progress.

— The Soviet Union has proved a long time ago, and in a most cogent manner that its own potential guarantees it the possibility to solve the most complex scientific and technical tasks. It is the achievements of its own science and technology, rather than the technology equipment bought from the western countries which determine the high standard of the Soviet economy and defence.

Naturally, this does not mean that the USSR and the other socialist countries are not interested in buying machinery and equipment, technology, licences and other commodities from the western countries. Likewise, the western countries are no less interested in buying — and they do buy such things from us — and in selling on our stable markets.

Interest in and profit from economic relations are shared. If we gain profit, our partners in the West profit accordingly, and if we lose due to reduced business, they lose as much, or eventually more.

— May I recall the attempt of the former US administration to bring the USSR down on its knees through the 'grain embargo'. However, the USA itself admitted that this policy was a complete fiasco. In the meantime American farmers lost about 1800 million dollars. So that abortive ban had to be lifted by the present US president, which is indeed an act of realism.

Why are certain quarters so intent on imposing the myth of an alleged Soviet threat?

— The Soviet Union was the first state in the history of mankind to proclaim peace its strategic goal, to formulate the principles of mutual relations between states with different social systems, the principles of peaceful co-existence, and to start a resolute struggle for a lasting peace, disarmament and equality.

— The Soviet Union was the first state to sound the alarm when the fascist danger became imminent: it took action to stop the fascist aggression and at the cost of 20 million lives of its citizens checked the advance of the fascist aggressors.

— Many victories of the progressive and peace-loving part of mankind in our age, such as the defeat of nazism, the preservation of peace in the course of 36 years now, the establishment and successful development of the socialist community, the collapse of the disgraceful colonial system, the free life and progress of the peoples from the Third World, etc., are inextricably linked with the Leninist foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

The truth is that the Soviet Union has never been the initiator of the arms race and has never striven to win military superiority over the West. On the contrary, it has always insisted on stopping the arms race, on embarking upon the road of real

disarmament. Its initiatives for peace and security, for disarmament and detente are a constantly acting factor of peace. They are a realistic platform which inspires and encourages millions of fighters for peace and progress and serves as a basis for their unification.

The truth is that the Soviet Union was, back in 1917, in the tragic days of the Second World War, during the cold war, and is today, the initiator of exceptionally important proposals for peace and cooperation among states and peoples. Herein lies the advantage and superiority of the Soviet Union, and not in the myth of 'a Soviet threat' and 'Soviet arms superiority' contrived by reaction.

I know the Soviet Union well, I know its leadership well, and I know Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev well. The Soviet Union stands for peace and detente and is doing its utmost to preserve peace and detente. Leonid Brezhnev is a great and wise statesman, who will go down in history as one of the most outstanding builders of peace and detente in our times. No, dear friends, whoever is interested in the truth, must know: the USSR and the socialist countries remain a stronghold of peace; our strategy is a strategy of peace.

THE STRATEGY OF SOCIALISM - A STRATEGY OF PEACE

Dear guests,
Comrades,

Developments in the international arena alarm us. They point to a serious and direct threat to world peace. This threat should by no means be underrated. It calls for prompt measures, everyone should decide which way to follow and how to act for the preservation and strengthening of peace.

There are two main roads ahead of us, two strategies, officially announced and familiar to all statesmen and politicians, to the widest public in the whole world.

— *The US strategy* of which we can judge from the official statements of President Ronald Reagan and the other high-ranking officials of the US administration.

— *The other is the strategy of the Soviet Union, of all states of existing socialism, coherently outlined by Leonid Ilyich*

Brezhnev from the rostrum of the 26th Congress of the CPSU, as well as from the congress rostrums of the BCP and a number of other communist, workers' and democratic parties.

What in fact are these two strategies?

The US strategy is a strategy of *an about-turn from detente to confrontation, of disrupting the strategic balance and building up US military superiority, a strategy of speeded military preparations and procrastinating on or postponing negotiations with the East at least until the US establishes a 'position of strength'*. Some NATO circles term it 'a new imperial strategy'.

And it must be pointed out that, in compliance with this strategy, dangerous steps are already being taken, steps which threaten peace and security in the world. And this is no 'myth' any more. It is a real danger. Because the logic of things is inexorable. Because every new step towards the build-up of tension is already a step towards war. Because it must be clear that all this cannot but cause a reaction. All this cannot but alarm the peoples, cannot but create conditions for mistrust.

The strategy of existing socialism is *directed towards safeguarding and deepening detente, towards peaceful coexistence with the capitalist states, towards halting the arms race and towards disarmament in conditions of military parity and equal security of the East and West, towards an open and frank dialogue on all matters of dispute in international relations*. The strategy of existing socialism is based on the unshakeable confidence that there is no problem which cannot, given a mutual desire, be solved in a just and mutually advantageous manner, that there can and should be negotiations and not enmity.

The guideline of our strategy is the strengthening of peace, the prevention of the insane arms race, of the perilous advance towards the nuclear precipice:

— *This is a global strategy*, which includes measures to improve the climate in all neuralgic parts of the world — in Europe and the Far East, in Africa and in the zone of the Persian Gulf, in the Near and Middle East, in Soviet-American relations.

— *It is realistic*, it does not infringe unilaterally upon the interests of any country, it asserts the principles of equality and equal guarantees of security, it takes stock of the objective facts.

— *It is purposeful.* Given the whole variety of problems in the international arena, it centres attention on those which are most significant for furthering peace and most of all on the problem of limiting and halting the arms race, of making real progress on the way to disarmament. It includes measures for confidence-building in Europe and in the whole world; proposals for limiting the strategic arms of the USSR and the USA; measures related to the question of the nuclear missiles in Europe.

The strategy of existing socialism is a strategy of the honest and valiant efforts for detente and the elimination of the hotbeds of war and tension, a strategy of realism, of level-headedness and initiative in the struggle for peace. *It is a strategy whose underlying principle is the deep conviction that now there is no more important and vital task than guaranteeing the world's peaceful development.*

Proposing a broad and constructive programme for overcoming tension in international life, we are confident that the strengthening of peace cannot be the monopoly of an individual state or a political force. We approach anything that other countries might propose with a great deal of interest and understanding, we are ready to consider their initiatives thoroughly and carefully, to look jointly for solutions that are of mutual interest, that serve the cause of peace and the peoples of the whole world.

We are deeply confident that along with the great states, all other countries can do a great deal for the strengthening of peace. This is what our own experience, accumulated here, in the Balkans, has taught us.

— It is a well-known fact that today there are still quite a few controversial and unresolved issues at this neuralgic crossroads, where since millennia peoples, civilizations and cultures have clashed and influenced each other, where Bulgaria was founded 13 centuries ago.

— Regardless of all this, today we can boldly say that *the Balkans at the present moment are not the 'powder keg' of Europe, and despite the existing complexity and difficulties, in practice they are operating ever more energetically as a constructive factor of peace, security and cooperation in Europe.*

— The positive changes are the fruit of the efforts of Bulgaria

and of all other states, which soberly and realistically work to strengthen peace, detente and understanding in this region.

The line pursued by our state is unswerving, the determination of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to contribute ever more to the development of detente, security and cooperation in the Balkans is unshakeable. This has been confirmed by the recently held Twelfth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, which worked out a broad programme for strengthening detente and peace in the Balkans.

What does this programme envisage?

— We consider that, bearing in mind the lessons of history, efforts should be made to constantly improve the climate of trust in the region;

— we have again stated our readiness to follow the path charted in Helsinki in order to turn the Balkans into a stable region of detente;

— in compliance with the principles embedded in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, we have expressed our readiness to sign bilateral agreements with our neighbours which would include a code of good neighbourly relations, the renunciation of any territorial claims and forestalling the use of the territories of the contracting parties for hostile goals and actions against one another;

— we are in favour of further expanding and deepening bilateral cooperation in the spheres of economy, tourism, science, culture, education and sports, which should bear still more abundant fruit, should contribute to the familiarization of our peoples and should be a factor of strengthening peace and security on the peninsula;

— bearing in mind that the Balkan Peninsula is situated on the road between Europe, Asia and Africa, we are in favour of developing cooperation in the sphere of transport and communications which would be in the interest of many countries and peoples.

— we are ready to continue cooperating on a multilateral basis with the other Balkan countries on matters of mutual interest in those specific spheres in which accords have already been reached.

This is the road Bulgaria and its leadership have opted for.

I should like to assure you that our country will do its best in future too, to realize the peaceful strategy of socialism. It will be making an active contribution to the establishment of peace and understanding, of trust and cooperation among the peoples in the world.

PEACE AND PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE – CONDITIONS FOR
SOCIAL PROGRESS, FOR THE DEVELOPMENT AND
IMPROVEMENT OF MAN AND SOCIETY

Distinguished guests,
Comrades,

Each people has the legitimate right to choose its own road in history, the social system under which it will live, the ideological principles that will guide it in its struggle for social progress. For us communists, this is a sacred principle and we consistently apply it.

Two social systems co-exist in the world today competing with each other as to which of them will ensure better conditions for the development of society and man, of man's way of life.

But the cardinal problem now, in the current troubled hour of mankind's history, is to safeguard peace as a primary condition and a prerequisite for all peoples' social progress.

This is the real problem, this is the highly ethical, complicated and difficult but feasible political goal.

It is exactly this credo that meets the needs of all peoples, and of each and every person on Earth – *to ensure social progress in conditions of lasting peace*. The pursuit of all-round progress characterizes more than ever before the consciousness and aspirations of each people. There is no place on earth where peoples have not expressed clearly and irreversibly their will to live in a world of dynamic changes leading to well-being and prosperity.

Is this task realistic?

Yes, it is.

In our time, as never before, mankind has colossal potentials and prerequisites to speed up progress in all spheres of life:

- these are the potentials of the world economy;
- these are the achievements of science and technology

which have opened up boundless vistas to mankind (the conquest of space, the discovery and utilization of nuclear power, achievements in electronics, etc.);

– this is the progress achieved in communications and information, the remarkable achievements of culture, art and education, the profound changes in the peoples' way of life.

– these are the potentials of man himself, of many of his untapped and not fully utilized capacities and skills.

It is clear that peace is needed, above all, to realize these possibilities.

That is why peace is one of our most important starting points in matters of social progress, too.

But it is also clear that what is needed now is not any kind of peace. Often, when the goals of the policy for peace and disarmament are defined, stress is laid primarily on the fact that in our time the very existence of the human race is endangered. And this is perfectly true.

But to say that the great meaning of our efforts, their historical justification and high price boil down to merely saving mankind from a thermo-nuclear holocaust and to man's survival is tantamount to not saying all.

We must regard this question from another viewpoint as well – the imperative of creating ever more favourable conditions for solving people's social problems.

Our struggle for peace is a struggle for social progress in the true sense of the word. The struggle for peace is one of the most important components of the struggle for humanism, of the struggle for man in our world, and for his future.

Do we have grounds for anxiety in raising these questions?

Let us turn to facts. Noting the epoch-making achievements and possibilities that make us feel proud we are living in this century we cannot ignore *the deep contrasts caused by such unresolved social problems as:*

- the millions of people who still live in poverty and the many places where living standards are below subsistence level;
- the two thirds of the earth's population suffering from chronic malnutrition and the millions of people in our time who die of starvation every year;
- the 900 million illiterate, the millions of unemployed who

are our contemporaries, *the ailing* who do not have the means to look for qualified medical services and so on and so forth;

— the countries with regimes that trample upon *the elementary human rights and freedoms*.

These are facts and inferences which reveal with ever greater force the acuteness of the problems of social progress in our time. They show that this problem is not only of local and regional importance, but that in a definite sense it is also a universally human problem. Naturally, we politicians and statesmen are also involved in and concerned with this problem.

Philosophers, sociologists, economists and politicians argue about the criterion of social progress, about the indicators by which we can measure the level of social progress reached. Let them argue. This has been the subject of all times. *For us the main criterion is to create, in conditions of peace, such prerequisites which would be conducive to the full-fledged and mature development of man and his way of life.*

Militarism and confrontation cannot be the basis of social progress. On the contrary, these phenomena exacerbate social contradictions, engender crises and create prerequisites for social calamities. In conditions of militarism and confrontation the moral values of society are trampled upon, and human life itself devaluated.

Well, this is the very simple logic of matters which has been proved through the centuries. To shun this logic means to shun truth, to shun the idea of progress, to impede progress itself.

We have only to face the facts in order to be convinced of that.

First, the years of detente are years of a growth in cooperation in the sphere of *economic relations*. Today international economic relations spread all over the Earth to all countries, regions and continents. Enormous and various resources — production, human, material and financial — have been harnessed in the world economy. Active international economic life is becoming the basis for the development of genuinely universal relations among all countries and peoples. In the final count, the expansion of international economic relations leads to a consolidation of the national independence of states, of their sovereignty, to the more or less successful solution of their social problems.

Second, peace creates conditions for constant *communication among peoples*. In conditions of peace the cultural acquisitions of all peoples are becoming established most vividly and fruitfully, prerequisites are created for the development of education and science, and conditions for creative work.

Third, in conditions of peace and peaceful creativity the working people's democratic rights can be developed and enriched, can be consolidated and expanded. *Peace and democracy are indivisible*. Militarism and hegemonism are incompatible with the ideals and principles of democracy. It is only in conditions of lasting and equitable peace that real democracy can develop, that human rights and democratic freedoms can be fully realized.

Fourth, it is only in conditions of peace that peoples and governments can make use of those advantages in the drive for social progress, which *the contemporary revolution in science and technology offers*.

As is well known, *contemporary science and technology provide opportunities for each and every social system to solve a number of social problems to some degree or another*. We also know, however, that no country or people can develop science and technology entirely on its own, isolated from and without any relations to the outside world.

Developing scientific and technological revolution as an international phenomenon, we have been called upon to fight for its becoming indeed a weal and not a curse, a revolution for man and not against man, a sphere for creativity and not a means for destruction.

Fifth, it is only in conditions of peace that mankind can raise funds and muster strength and can find the proper approaches and solutions to *the global problems of our time*.

— I have in mind the further optimization of *the relationship between man and the natural environment*, the felicitous overcoming of the symptoms of a *possible ecological crisis*, the most rational utilization of *natural resources*.

I have in mind the overall solution of the *food supplies problem*, the ultimate liquidation of famine as a social scourge, the satisfaction of the natural demands of each and every man on our planet.

— I have in mind the solution of *the energy problem, the raw materials problem*, the establishment of *equitable economic relations*, in the world, etc.

These are, in most general terms the dimensions of social progress refracted through the prism of peace, and the dimensions of peace refracted through the prism of social progress. These are problems which call for an organized participation by all countries, a mobilization of the will and energy of the whole of mankind.

I should add that the ability of each and every state to take part in the solution of these problems is a criterion for social progress, for a wise approach to our common historical responsibility before the future.

In this connection the role which the peace-loving forces will be assigned is exceptionally responsible, provided they confidently and firmly back the cause of peace, the cause of progress. Because peace and progress are inseparable.

The subject of progress is in fact a subject of the optimistic and humane principle in mankind's history.

Naturally, to this day in the West there persist conceptions and theories fraught with social pessimism:

— It is no secret that to the sources of this pessimism we can refer the threat of a nuclear holocaust, the threat of a nuclear annihilation of life on Earth.

— It is no secret either that the unsolved social problems of our time can be referred to the prerequisites for this pessimism, too.

— It is no secret either that this pessimism is incited by the forces of regress, of conservatism and reaction which are fearful of any kind of progress.

We communists think that there are no grounds for pessimism:

— Because for a little over half a century scores of peoples have embarked upon new roads in their socio-economic development.

The world socialist system has been established and is strengthening and developing, moulding new social relations and a new civilization, lending new hitherto unknown dimensions to the notion of progress.

— The colonial empires have collapsed before the very eyes of two generations; scores of nations have raised their heads and entered the history of the world as conscious and active creators of progress and renewal.

— The political activity of the popular masses is steadily increasing. The oppressed classes and strata are fighting ever more successfully for their rights and freedoms, the progressive organizations and movements in the world are constantly gaining in strength.

It is under these conditions of transformation, unprecedented in scale, that today the number of states which have set themselves the task of making economic, social and cultural progress using the colossal potential of contemporary science and technology, is bigger than ever before.

Esteemed guests,

Comrades,

The cardinal and vital problems of our age concern each and every man. To solve these problems, the problems of peace and progress in particular, means to defend the most precious thing — the life of the people, to develop the material and spiritual culture created by mankind in the course of many centuries, and being created at present as well.

This is a task concerning the fate of the world.

We are politicians and realists and we know that the fate of the world does not depend only on individual states or political parties. It depends on a whole range of factors, each one of which should operate in the right way.

The fate of peace, the fate of the world depends on the great powers, which have at their disposal a big economic and military potential and play an important role in international life. Detente depends to the highest degree on the policy of the USSR and the USA, on the state of their relations. That is why the peoples have a stake in normal relations between them, in a dialogue on all levels, including summit meetings.

The fate of the world depends on the policy of all other states — socialist, capitalist and developing, big and small alike. All states can do a great deal in containing and checking the arms race, in foiling the policy of confrontation, in averting a new cold war. The expansion of equitable, mutually beneficial relations

among them in different spheres can play a considerably big role in strengthening peace.

The fate of the world depends on the democratic and progressive forces, on the contribution of the socio-political organizations, on the world peace movement, on their active struggle for peace and detente. The fate of peace depends on the peoples, it is in the hands of the peoples. It depends on the working class rallying in its ranks hundreds of millions of people on our planet, on the peasants, on the intelligentsia, on young men and women, on mothers. It depends also on these realistically thinking and sober-minded activists of the bourgeois parties and states, who are not few in number and who understand that peaceful coexistence has no other acceptable alternative and who work to strengthen peace and detente. The ranks of all these forces are swelling, their actions are becoming ever better organized, vigorous and forward driving.

My personal experience of many years, my meetings with many statesmen and politicians, my participation in different forums — all this gives me full grounds to claim: *at the present responsible moment the most important, decisive factor for the strengthening of peace is the mobilization, cohesion and activation of the forces, which have a stake in the strengthening of detente, of blocking the road to war.*

Detente is threatened, but it has not been buried, it shall not be buried.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria believes that peace can be preserved and strengthened.

We shall work and fight as heretofore, for the accomplishment of this historic task.

I thank you for your attention and once again wish success to your meeting and dialogue!

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ALLROUND UPSURGE, CONSISTENT COURSE OF PEACEFUL POLICY AND COOPERATION

*From the answers to questions posed by Robert Maxwell, Chairman of
the Anglo-American publishing firm Pergamon Press
November 1981*

The interview is part of a volume of works by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, published in November 1981 in Great Britain by the Anglo-American publishing firm Pergamon Press. The book, published in the *Leaders of the World* series, is entitled *Todor Zhivkov — Statesman and Builder of New Bulgaria*. Its general editor is Robert Maxwell.

ROBERT MAXWELL: *Dear Mr President, how do you explain the fact that you have been holding the highest political and state post in your country for such a long time?*

TODOR ZHIVKOV: It is not easy to answer this question. I hope you are not expecting me to appraise my own political and business qualities — let's leave this to the future.

You probably know that for half a century I have been in the ranks of the Bulgarian Communist Party. About a decade and a half I fought at the front line of its difficult struggle — in the years of underground movement and in the period of armed resistance against the fascist dictatorship. After the victory of the socialist revolution I carried out the tasks the Party was entrusting me with. In 1954 I was elected First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party. The historic April Plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party in 1956 again approved me for the post of First Secretary of the Central Committee and I have been re-elected to this post at all the following congresses. The 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party restored the traditional post of General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and elected me to it. I have always felt an inner gratitude and filial responsibility for the high trust placed in me; I have always striven to give as much energy and

knowledge as possible in my entire work and behaviour to justify this trust.

I personally regard my election to the post of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party as a new responsible task, as an obligation to work still more actively and purposefully for translation into being the decisions of the 12th Party Congress, for the triumph of its April line and for the construction of a mature socialist society in my motherland.

ROBERT MAXWELL: What do you think of the possibility of retiring for a deserved rest after so many years of effort for your country and your Party?

TODOR ZHIVKOV: To be sincere, this possibility has not often occupied my mind. But I think it perfectly natural for every man who in the process of active work is gradually approaching a certain age. I have three grandchildren, you know, and the natural wish to spare them more attention and care is not alien to me. I would also like more spare time to read and re-read books by my favourite authors. But again, there are some written and unwritten laws of our Party to which I must comply as a conscientious and disciplined communist.

There is a rule inherited from the period of struggle for social freedom which says while this struggle continues, there is not and cannot be a respite for the communist-revolutionary. He should remain at his post while he is alive and full of energy. After the victory of the socialist revolution the retirement of communists has become a rather relative value. Even after retirement the majority of communists remain at work while they can still share their knowledge, their organizational and life experience to the benefit of the Party and society. Nobody is forcing them to do this — it is a kind of self-enforcement to themselves.

It is because of this that our Party Statute does not feature any age limits — neither for membership, nor for executive work.

Speaking of the biological limits, of mental and physical abilities for adequate work, which surely have been provided for when determining the retirement age, they probably are scientifically backed. But to a great extent they are only an arithmetical mean.

I can thus answer your somewhat provocative question. But I can also assure you with certainty that my decision to retire or not does not depend solely on my personal wishes and considerations, but on a number of other conditions as well, which should be taken into consideration. We Bulgarians like jokes and I can tell you along these lines that one of my grandfathers, Valko Zhivkovski lived until the age of 107, and a hearty old man he was until his last day, never regarding himself as old.

ROBERT MAXWELL: Mr Zhivkov, may I express my most sincere condolences for the untimely death of your daughter, Mrs Lyudmila Zhivkova, Member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Chairman of the Bulgarian Committee for Culture.

TODOR ZHIVKOV: Thank you.

ROBERT MAXWELL: The Bulgarian people grieved deeply for the loss of Mrs Lyudmila Zhivkova. Hundreds of state and government leaders, leaders of communist and workers' parties, politicians and cultural figures the world over expressed their condolences to the Bulgarian people, to the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and personally to you for this great loss. This corroborates the great significance of the work of Mrs Lyudmila Zhivkova for the development of Bulgarian culture, for its propagation and growing prestige in many countries. I would like to ask you in connection with this: How does the project of Mrs Zhivkova on "aesthetic education" (defined as "realization of the vital necessity to live according to the supreme laws of truth and beauty") fit into, if I may express myself so, the more orthodox targets of the "communist education"?

TODOR ZHIVKOV: The increased material and spiritual possibilities of our country at the stage of the developed socialist society naturally give rise to some qualitatively new processes in social development. One of the major targets of the programme for aesthetic education at present is to raise the theoretical and practical efforts aimed at forming a new personality to the level of contemporary science. Our social government has reached such a stage of maturity now, which permits us to direct scientifically complex processes in the intellectual sphere. On the other hand, with mankind today — the increased intellectual and

spiritual abilities of the people, the intensive development of science, the difficulties and acute problems our planet is facing at the end of the 20th century – all this raises objectively the question of the integral and all-round development of human personality. We maintain that the overall solving of this question is possible only under the conditions of the developed socialist and communist society.

It is not accidental that at this particular time the Bulgarian Communist Party has made the task of aesthetic education an all-national cause, an important Party and state task. We regard the unfolding of all-national aesthetic education as an important component of the communist education of the people, because this task is in accord with the objective of the communist ideal – to form intellectually complete personalities, active builders in the construction of the communist system. We don't speak in our country of aesthetic education in general, but of such aesthetic education which moulds the new man, which produces not only talents, works of art or artistic activities, but awakens along with this the organically inherent creative gifts in each individual.

The aesthetic education programme is not taken separately from the social processes in our country. On the contrary – it corresponds to a real necessity which has sprung at this particular stage along the road of development of our society towards mature socialism. Only a system eliminating antagonism between man and society, man and man, man and nature, can set for itself a concrete and real historical goal, the all-round harmonious development and fulfilment of the creative principle in man. In close interaction with other ideological-educational factors and components of communist education, the aesthetic education participates actively and directly in the forming of communist ideology and behaviour.

So the question here is not of mechanically fitting one project into the basics of communist education, or as you have put it into "the more orthodox targets of communist education", but of an exceptionally important, for the spiritual growth of our nation, process of preparing comprehensively the younger generations for life and the important tasks our country is facing.

ROBERT MAXWELL: *What is your opinion of the state relations of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the United*

Kingdom, of the prospects for their further development?

TODOR ZHIVKOV: Historically the relations of our two countries have passed through different periods of development. And this isn't the place to dwell on each period in close detail.

If you open the Bulgarian history books, you will find the names of many prominent English politicians and cultural figures, who over a century ago raised their voice in support of the struggle for liberation of our people. If you walk the streets of our biggest cities – Sofia and Plovdiv – you will see that some of them are named after William Gladstone, Lady Stratford, the Buckston brothers and Major Frank Thompson, who died for the freedom of Bulgaria as commander of the British military mission with the Bulgarian guerilla-fighters during World War Two. We think this should be the solid foundation on which our relations should be built.

I think that there is still certain inertia on the part of Great Britain towards our country, which has changed enormously, especially in the last three decades. True, Bulgaria is not one of the big East European states. But comparing our state relations with Great Britain to the relations we have with the FRG, France and Italy, there is an obvious lag behind. Just one example in support of this: the diplomatic relations of our two countries date back to more than one hundred years, but our foreign ministers have not yet exchanged visits.

There is a basis for the development of interstate relations between our two countries, I re-emphasize this, there is such a basis. The British writers, both classical and modern, are brought out here in a total print of scores of thousands and the theatres stage plays not only by Shakespeare, Oscar Wilde and Bernard Shaw, but also by modern British composers and of your artists. The first exhibition of Henry Moore's works was arranged in Bulgaria more than 20 years ago, and this year his sculptures were again represented here. I was told that our "Thracian Treasures" exhibition at the British Museum in London was seen by more than 400,000 people in less than 3 months. Some other Bulgarian exhibitions have also enjoyed considerable success in Great Britain. The number of British tourists who visit Bulgaria has been constantly on the increase in the last couple of years.

Our position on the development of relations with Great Britain does not differ from those towards the other West European countries. It is built on the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, of absolute equality and mutual respect.

Raising the political level of relations between Bulgaria and Great Britain will contribute, in my opinion, to the expansion of contacts between our two countries in other spheres – the economic and cultural, to consolidation of understanding and co-operation between the states on our continent, and to consolidation of *détente*, which is in the interest not only of our two peoples, but of peace in Europe and the world.

We sincerely believe that objectively there are no insurmountable obstacles along the road to activating our relations.

ROBERT MAXWELL: Trade relations with Great Britain are good, though figures show an imbalance in favour of Great Britain. In 1979 British exports to Bulgaria amounted to 27 million pounds while Bulgarian exports to Great Britain amounted to only 12 million pounds. What measures are being taken to increase the competitive power of Bulgarian goods in the Western market, in particular in the British market?

TODOR ZHIVKOV: If we take a glance at the current data on trade between the two countries, we shall see that trade rose by about 75 per cent in between the years 1971 and 1979. If we consider the data on this growth in fixed prices, accounting for the rate of inflation over the period, we shall see that despite our wish, economic relations between the two countries over the last decade have remained basically at an unchanged level. And what is more, if we compare the development of British-Bulgarian trade in the seventies with the rapid rise of East-West economic relations in the years of *détente*, we shall see that against the background of this general boom, our trade relations are lagging behind. Great Britain and Bulgaria have developed strong foreign economic contacts. The proportion of their mutual trade, however, in both our trade and yours, is rather small. This shows that there are enormous opportunities for our two countries.

For the sake of comparison alone, I can mention the economic relations between Bulgaria and the Federal Republic

of Germany or between Bulgaria and France, which exceed several times the trade figures with Great Britain.

At this point I shall proceed to answer the second part of your question. As has become evident from our trade with other developed countries, the problem lies not so much in the competitive power of the Bulgarian goods. In my view the level of our economic relations reflects the general level of the relations between Bulgaria and Great Britain. Naturally, there are other factors as well, for instance the British firms' and dealers' still insufficient acquaintance with our exporting capacity.

The strongly pronounced active balance in favour of Great Britain is due to various reasons. First of all, however, to the structure of our trade with your country. Our exports consist mainly of fuels, mineral raw materials, metals and foods, that is of goods requiring a relatively low degree of treatment, the prices of which do not rise as fast on the international market as do the prices of machines and equipment. And vice versa, first on our import list are expensive mineral raw materials and equipment, chemical products and rubber, in other words goods with high prices on the international market.

Apparently such a trade structure, dominated as it is by goods that are subject to considerable short-term fluctuations, offers no stable basis for the promotion of bilateral trade. I think that we must seek to expand industrial co-operation and to conclude long-term agreements. At the same time more favourable conditions should be provided for conventional trade, because conventional trade continues to occupy a major part in the exchanges between the two countries.

Britain's joining the E.E.C. and the limitation on the imports of Bulgarian goods had a bad effect on our trade. To a large extent this bad effect can be made up for by the inclusion of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in the general scheme for preferential tariffs of the E.E.C., for which we have applied long ago. Britain is one of the oldest trading nations in the world and she must be well aware that one of the basic laws of trade is: if you want to sell, you have to buy as well.

The rise in trade between the two countries is a matter of mutual interest. Your plants manufacture high-quality machines and equipment, which are in great demand in Bulgaria. On the

other hand, our economy is plan-based, which makes us stable partners. The reaching of accords between our governments on a long-term basis will give rise to trade, which in its turn will bring benefit to both the people of Bulgaria and Great Britain.

ROBERT MAXWELL: *What is at present the Bulgarian attitude towards 'joint ventures' with the developed capitalist countries (they were not mentioned in the Theses of the 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party)?*

TODOR ZHIVKOV: It is said in the decisions adopted by the 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, and more precisely in the ones on the development of the foreign economic relations of the country, that in the next 10 years Bulgaria's foreign economic relations with the developed capitalist countries will expand and intensify on an equitable and mutually advantageous basis.

And so, in the materials of the Congress, no special mention is made of the the setting up of joint companies. But the position we maintain in that sphere is well known, clear and constructive. In the past, too, our legislation permitted various forms of economic, industrial and market co-operation between Bulgarian economic and foreign trade organizations and firms from the capitalist countries. These forms of co-operation were used in the signing of general agreements between Bulgarian economic and foreign trade organizations and the British companies of "Cadbury Schweppes", "I.C.I.", "Shell" and "Northern Engineering Industries". Since March of 1980 a special Decree of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria has created additional opportunities and legal prerequisites for the setting up in Bulgaria of joint companies in all spheres of the economy. The Decree gives wide scope to flexible forms of economic co-operation and provides for greater freedom of the contracting parties as far as the forms and the ways of their joint work are concerned.

Our country is ready to give due consideration to all proposals for cooperation which are of mutual interest, regardless of whether the case concerns a joint company or any other form of co-operation.

So far, however, the British firms have shown no particular initiative in that respect, and we are not the ones to be blamed for that.

ROBERT MAXWELL: *In Great Britain a Committee was set up for consultations and to render aid in the organization of events to mark the 1300th Anniversary of Bulgaria. Which of the most important undertakings, similar to the 'Thracian Treasures' exhibition or the exhibition of Bulgarian Icons from the Church of "Alexander Nevsky", enjoyed such a great success in Britain?*

TODOR ZHIVKOV: First of all I would like to thank the leadership and the members of the Anniversary Committee for their active work, work which contributes to the better acquaintance of the two peoples.

This autumn a number of events are scheduled to be held in Great Britain in connection with the celebration of the 1300th Anniversary of Bulgaria. Through them we shall try to give the British public a more complete picture of the achievements of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in the spheres of art and culture, of science and the economy, of our overall development, especially in the years of socialism. I would like to mention some initiatives of which I have been informed in advance – the exhibition of "Modern Bulgarian Art", the "Ethnographic Exhibition", the concerts of the DIMOV String Quartette, the guest performance of the TRAKIA Folk Ensemble. Equally interesting will be the forthcoming joint symposia dedicated to various problems related to Bulgaro-British scientific, economic and other ties. Some of the events to be held in Great Britain will present our economic successes, thus illustrating the capacity of our country as a trading partner.

I would like to stress that successes scored so far in the cultural co-operation between our countries have set a good example of what we can also achieve in the other spheres of our relations.

ROBERT MAXWELL: *The way the Bulgarian press reported the events in Northern Ireland in hostile commentaries (in Rabotnichesko Delo, for instance) was offensive to Britain. Don't you agree that to speak of "British imperialism" when*

Northern Ireland is part of the United Kingdom is tantamount to "deliberate misinformation"?

TODOR ZHIVKOV: I understand your heightened sensitivity on the subject, especially now when the theme of Northern Ireland is rarely out of the limelight. I don't think, however, that the events in Northern Ireland as covered by the Bulgarian mass media can be qualified as "hostile" or as "misinformation". Our publications are striving to provide an objective picture of what is going on on the planet. The pictures published in our press and the films about Northern Ireland broadcast over our television were the works mostly of British and other Western newsmen.

You will agree that when people perish every day in a country and when young people die in hunger strikes staged in the name of a humane cause, then the Bulgarian journalists, just like most of the journalists of Britain and the West, cannot stay indifferent. This is not only a professional, but a human obligation as well, and it would be highly unfair to accuse them of non-existent sins and of hostile feelings towards Great Britain. It is just as natural for our journalists to have the free right to a political commentary of their own on one event in the world or another as it is for their colleagues in the capitalist countries. It is a very revealing fact that when Northern Ireland is in question both the one and the other take almost identical stands. I don't know how you feel about it, but I personally like it.

As to the Bulgarian people's sentiments of respect for the achievements of the British people and for their culture, the evidence is abundant and I hope you have become convinced of this.

ROBERT MAXWELL: *In what way does the "new economic approach" adopted in the Theses of the 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party differ from the previous attempts at reform, and from the "new economic system" of August 1968 in particular?*

TODOR ZHIVKOV: Your question takes us to a sphere which may be regarded by many as tedious. That is why I shall do my best to be as brief as possible. In the course of the construction of the developed socialist society, which started here at the end of the sixties, it was quite natural for new problems to

arise — related to both the further development of productive forces and the improvement of production relations.

The new economic approach should not be regarded as a deviation from the basic principles of socialist management of the national economy. On the contrary, it is the new economic approach of management based on the major principles of socialist management that we are speaking of.

I would like to stress: This new approach has nothing in common with the concepts of the spontaneously acting market mechanism. But it brings the economic organization of society far more in line with the objectively acting economic laws, with the operation of the objective laws of socialism.

The new economic approach and its mechanism are a natural continuation and improvement of the system of management adopted by our Party in the sixties.

The new economic approach is an integral complex system of economic means, methods, forms and mechanisms for stimulation and regulation which combine fully and comprehensively management and planning, production and distribution.

What is the main point of the new economic approach and the mechanism of its realization?

First. They create a field for an integral use of the commodity and money relations and for a consistent application of the system of self-support. The commodity and money relations and the economic levers related to them are existing objectively at the present stage of development of the socialist society. Through a lack of historical experience, Marx expected them to operate only in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. On the basis of a profound analysis, Lenin came to the conclusion that the relations of commodity and money will also be in force in the mature socialist society.

In our economic practice we do not underrate and do not neglect commodity and money relations. On the contrary, we use them in the interests of socialist development. On this basis the self-support system and its essence — the self-accounting in each organization, in each enterprise, in each economic and social activity — are being applied consistently.

As is known, there was a period in the process of creating the material and technical base of socialism when the state was forc-

ed to finance single big enterprises, even whole branch industries. This was inevitable, but it enabled Bulgaria to become from an agrarian state a powerful industrial and agrarian socialist country.

Now all the necessary premises exist to make each branch, each enterprise, bring profit.

Second. The state's centralized and planned management based on socialist ownership is the chief advantage our society has. Our task is to make good use of this advantage at all levels of management.

In recent years the state has defined as obligatory only several major economic indices of the plan which guarantee the principal proportions and balances.

On the basis of these indices each enterprise, each organization, each working team, is developing a plan of its own. In the process of drawing up these plans, agreements on the necessary resources and on the realization of production are being concluded. One might say that thanks to this mechanism the rational economic balance is realized "from the bottom upwards". On the other hand, conditions are created in the enterprises for further unfolding the creativity and the initiative of the workers and specialists who produce the goods. Therefore, in the new economic mechanism centralism and democratism are combined in order to create a wide field for self-initiative, for highly effective production.

Third. The fulfilment of the plan is ensured mainly through economic means and regulators. The price, the profit, the credit, the taxes, the bonuses, etc., are used in a much more flexible way. The role of profit and profitability is specially enhanced. In this way the centralized planned management is carried out mainly through economic means on the principle of economic interest and economic responsibility.

Fourth. The socialist principle of payment according to the quantity and quality of labour is applied in a new way. Its essence is the requirement for the worker's pay to become associated with the income of the enterprise.

Fifth. The new economic mechanism gives the producer a chance to appear independently on the internal and external markets and to get to the consumer himself. Each economic

organization is free to organize its own marketing, supplies and foreign trade.

These are, in brief, the characteristic features of the new economic approach and its mechanism.

ROBERT MAXWELL: In the past 10 years Bulgaria's economic growth has been phenomenal. Even so the indices of the Seventh Five-year Plan of the People's Republic of Bulgaria (1976-1980) were not fulfilled in all sectors. There was a considerable under-fulfilment in the agricultural production: of the planned 20 per cent rise in this period only 12 per cent was achieved. Does this mean that the agro-industrial complexes, hailed as an original Bulgarian form, fell short of expectations?

TODOR ZHIVKOV: Above all I would like to stress that in the Seventh Five-year Period our economy continued to develop at rates which are among the world's highest. The achievements of 4 years alone (1976-1979) considerably exceeded those of the whole Sixth Five-year Period. These successes stand out even more prominently in view of the fact that they were achieved under an exceptionally hard and complicated international situation, under adverse weather conditions.

The characteristic feature of the 1976-1980 period was the deepening of the raw and energy materials and the monetary crisis in the capitalist world. The prices of raw materials, fuels and equipment rose several times. Our economy is open, that is why these factors affected the implementation of the Seventh Five-year Plan. We suffered substantial losses from the difference in prices alone.

The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party took a firm policy towards exploring the internal reserves and rapidly adapting the economy to the new conditions. As a result of the measures taken, this adaptation was completed in 1979 instead of 1981.

In the years of the Seventh Five-year Period agriculture had to overcome a number of objective obstacles. The adverse weather conditions, as well as the natural calamities in almost all of the 5 years, brought about a loss in the national income. This is why we mobilized the country's whole economic potential to make up for the losses. The measures undertaken by the agro-

industrial complexes made it possible not only to gather, store and utilize agricultural production in time and without any losses, but to guarantee the further stable development of agriculture as well. This very fact produces evidence of how vital, flexible and stable the agro-industrial complexes are even under the most adverse economic and climatic conditions.

ROBERT MAXWELL: *Are private plots to be expanded in your country?*

TODOR ZHIVKOV: It is well known that as early as 1957, second in the world after the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of Bulgaria completed her agricultural reconstruction onto a socialist basis and once and for all did away with private farming. In a short period our country reached the level of the developed agricultural countries of the world. The personal holdings regarded by us as a natural continuation of the co-operative farms have a share in the successes achieved.

Individual farmers are given plots of land for personal use, the size of which is determined by the Statute for the organization and functioning of the National Agro-Industrial Union. The size of the plots differs in different regions and is specified by a general assembly of the agro-industrial complexes. The legal and economic statute of these plots differs substantially from that of the former private owners. The plots are not privately owned. The agro-industrial complexes grant a family the right to cultivate the plots with the labour of the family members alone, without the right to exploit the labour of persons not belonging to the family.

The personal holdings give the opportunity to utilize more comprehensively and more efficiently the labour resources of the separate families, to obtain an additional agricultural production for meeting both private demands and that of the market. On the other hand, this increases the exporting capacity of co-operative farms.

The system of self-support of the population with agricultural staple products, operating for several years now, brought about a number of improvements in the conditions for the functioning and the stimulation of personal holdings. The plots of land unfit for mechanized tillage and temporarily aban-

doned by the co-operative farms were placed at the disposal of the workers and employees in the towns. With a 5-day working week and the easing of hard manual labour there are many people who wish to grow some special crops, vegetables and flowers and to raise animals in their leisure time. In this way they gain in health, they add fresh and high quality products to their table, and some of them even obtain extra income. Under this form more than 700 thousand decares of land have been distributed and are being utilized so far in Bulgaria.

ROBERT MAXWELL: *The new Five-year Period in Bulgaria is referred to as "five years of technical progress". Is foreign, mainly Western, technology intended to be used on a large scale? What is meant by renewed emphasis laid on "self-support"? (The volume of 1981-1985 foreign trade is to increase by the comparatively modest 40 per cent as against the approximately 100 per cent increase in the 1976-1980 period.)*

TODOR ZHIVKOV: The level of the production forces reached and the objective possibilities exploited for further extensive development necessitated the priority orienting of the Eighth Five-year Period (1981-1985) towards an intensive development of the economy and other spheres of public life.

The practical implementation of the overall intensification requires an accelerated industrial transfer of the techno-scientific progress. Our goal is, first of all, to make the right choice and to translate efficiently into being the best techno-scientific achievements, the most effective trends of the techno-scientific progress which have occurred both in our country and abroad, and to combine most expediently and closely link them with the effective utilization of the already existing industrial potential. This is the reason why we attach special importance to the active co-operation with the countries of both the East and the West.

Naturally, the basic condition for such co-operation is that it rests on the principles of mutual advantage and equality, on the principle of balance. Along these lines in recent years our country has also adopted the respective normative documents which provide for joint industrial, technical and trade activity to be carried out between our enterprises and Western firms on the territory of our country, on the territory of the partner countries,

or in third countries. This will make it possible for the technical level of the jointly made products to raise, for the marketing possibilities to expand, for the currency incomes to increase and, naturally, for long-term prospects to mutually advantageous economic and techno-scientific co-operation to be ensured.

For the still further and more complex meeting of the material and intellectual demands of the people, we are to use to the full the large reserves of the Bulgarian economy. This will restrict the country's dependence on import of goods which she is able to produce herself. This, however, is not and cannot be the reason for restricting our economic cooperation with the non-socialist countries. If such a reason still exists, its roots are to be sought somewhere else — in the crisis of the Western economy, in the existing policy of economic discrimination and restrictions. In spite of this, thanks to the measures we have taken, the absolute volume of our trade with the non-socialist countries has been maintained. It is to increase further in the years to come because of the steady growing of our economy's export possibilities.

ROBERT MAXWELL: How do you intend to offset the price increases of fuels, energy, raw materials and so on?

TODOR ZHIVKOV: Our economy, and it is only very natural, also has been much affected by the escalating prices of the main fuels, energy and raw materials on the world capitalist markets. We offset these price increases mainly with the help of two factors:

First: Through the large reserves our economy has at its disposal in all spheres.

Second: Through the advantages the socialist economic integration gives us, and especially through the close co-operation and joint production with the Soviet Union and the other CMEA member countries.

At the same time we are to use other factors: updating and overall intensification of production through accelerated industrial transfer of the techno-scientific achievements; economical and effective utilization of raw materials and energy resources, in the first place those manufactured in Bulgaria.

What we are striving after is higher results by incurring lower material costs: by reducing energy and material consumption of products at the very process of their designing; by a complex and in-depth processing of raw materials; by applying wasteless technologies; by utilizing the by-products, wastes and scrap.

ROBERT MAXWELL: What are the short-term prospects of the Bulgarian economy to increase employment in the years to come? Also what sectors of the Bulgarian economy are you expecting to expand the most, with a view to exports?

TODOR ZHIVKOV: The first part of your question will puzzle every Bulgarian. The problem of employment was solved here a couple of decades ago. There is no unemployment in Bulgaria. Especially for the young people this is an "imported", unfamiliar concept. Moreover, in some economic sectors we even experience shortage of labour resources.

In the next Five-year Period the machine building output will increase by 50-55 per cent. We shall pay special attention to the heavy investment mechanical engineering. The exports of machine systems and technological lines will increase, as well as the complete plant, management and control systems, apparatuses and unique machines and installations. The production and exports of industrial robots, manipulators, robotized technological modules and metal-working lathes and installations with digital control will increase.

On the basis of new electronics, micro-processors and electro-mechanical elements there will be a switchover from the production and export of single computerized technological means and universal computer machines to complex computerized installations and systems. The People's Republic of Bulgaria will export microprocessor devices and systems with the corresponding software, quasioelectronic and electronic automatic telephone exchanges, digital transfer systems and office integrated intellect systems.

In the next 5 years chemical production will grow by about 50 per cent. The production and export of polypropylene, raw materials for polyurethanes and polyurethane products of industrial microbiological products will be carried out. We will also develop the export of small-tonnage chemical products, paints

and dyes, catalysts, enzymes, pure and superpure matter, urea, ammonium nitrate, fertilizers and preparations for plant protection, pharmaceuticals and perfumery and cosmetic products.

Irrespective of the priority we give to mechanical engineering and chemical industry, the other branches of our economy will also develop at accelerated rates.

ROBERT MAXWELL: *According to your Sofia News English edition of April 22, 1981, a second atomic power plant will be constructed in Belene, 150 km away from Kozlodou, where your first atomic power station is built. What are Bulgaria's plans in the field of energetics, considering that she imports two-thirds of the energy she needs from the Soviet Union, Iraq, Iran and Libya?*

TODOR ZHIVKOV: The construction of atomic power stations is one of the major trends in the development of Bulgarian energetics. We had started the realization of our long-term programme for the development of nuclear power generation long before the start of the energy crisis. In 1974 the first reactor with a capacity of 440 mgW was put in operation in the Kozlodou Atomic Power Station. Now there are three reactors in operation there, and at the end of this year the construction of the fourth one will be completed.

In 1980 the Kozlodou Atomic Power Station supplied 18 per cent of the country's total energy output, and in this index the People's Republic of Bulgaria ranked among the world's top four or five countries. Work is in progress now on expanding the station with two more reactors, each with a capacity of 1000 mgW.

The relative proportion of electricity generated by atomic power stations is planned to reach about 26 per cent in 1985 and about 40 per cent in 1990. So for the fulfilment of this task a second atomic power plant will be built near the town of Belene.

To meet the country's growing needs in energy, a comprehensive programme for the development of energetics and for the effective use of energy resources until 1990 has been developed. It has been made in compliance with the specific conditions in Bulgaria and relies on close co-operation and integration with the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries. The

realization of this programme will bring an increase of about 30 per cent in 1980 and up to 40-45 per cent in 1990 in the relative proportion of local energy resources in the energy balance of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. Along with the construction of atomic power stations, the mastering of the hydroenergetic potential of the country will continue, which from 46 per cent in 1980 will grow to 53 per cent in 1990. The use of non-conventional energy sources – solar and geothermal energy – is planned for expansion.

The production of classical fuels will increase, mainly in the sphere of coal-mining, with a prevalence of low-quality lignite coal. The major part of this production will be used to generate electricity in the thermal stations, based on effective and original schemes evolved by Bulgarian specialists.

Power generation will continue to develop at accelerated rates, mainly on the basis of the atomic energy and low-calorie lignite coals. In 1980 the People's Republic of Bulgaria reached Europe's average level in electricity consumption per capita of the population and came close to the level of the most advanced countries. In the following decade energy consumption is planned to grow on average by 5.3 per cent a year, an average rate of over 7 per cent in the last decade.

ROBERT MAXWELL: *The new, Eighth Five-year Plan (1981-1985) of the People's Republic of Bulgaria provides for an increase of the light industry growth. Is this a correction of the ideological priority of the heavy industry development in the previous years?*

TODOR ZHIVKOV: In 1980 the industrial output exceeded by 35 per cent that of 1975. The Theses of the 12th Congress for socio-economic development in the Eighth Five-year Period provide for the total industrial output to grow by 30-35 per cent. We do not envisage higher growth rates for the light industry (they are 25-30 per cent) compared with the heavy industry. At the same time, both in the documents of the 12th and the 11th Congresses, it is underlined that we will pursue a line of bringing closer together the development rates of the heavy and the light industries. Following this line in the last decade (1970-1980), the index of the industrial means of production has amounted to 206 and of commodities to 228.

The priority growth of the heavy over the light industry at the birth and establishment of socialism was conditioned by the technical and economic backwardness of our country. The fact that this relationship is changing in compliance with the concrete historical conditions, that a marked process of bringing closer the development rates of the heavy and the light industries is present here, testifies that we are not enslaved by dogmas, but take into consideration the real needs of socio-economic development.

ROBERT MAXWELL: *The continuing marked increase in the production of consumer goods (which started in 1974), is it effected in response to the people's demands?*

TODOR ZHIVKOV: What do you mean by "people's demands"? We are trying to follow and at the same time to direct consumer demands. The primary goal of our socio-economic policy is to meet increasingly better the constantly growing material and spiritual needs of the people. This policy is the core of our ideology. "Everything in the name of man, everything to the benefit of man" — this is the motto of our Party.

In the years of socialist construction a large material and technological base for the size of our country has been created — heavy and light industry were developed, as well as modern agriculture. Both the social policy of the Party and the exceptionally growing economic potential of Bulgaria have made the steady increase of consumer goods manufacturing a real and possible task.

With the application of the new economic approach, increasingly favourable conditions have been created which enable us to raise the interest of the production and trade organizations in the improvement of their production activities and the supply of the people with consumer goods. The new economic mechanism has brought this direct interest to a direct contact of producers with the market and to the optimum orientation of production towards goods in high demand.

ROBERT MAXWELL: *What net growth of the monetary income of the Bulgarian people do you expect in 1982? Will the retail prices of staple products remain unchanged?*

TODOR ZHIVKOV: Salaries and other incomes (pensions, scholarships, child allowances, etc.) are ensuring a steady growth

of real income. Along with this, funds allocated by the state and economic organizations for the improvement of education, health care, culture and social events are constantly on the increase. They form about one-fourth of the incomes of the working people.

In the next 5 years real incomes are expected to grow by 16-18 per cent. The average annual salary will grow from 2185 to 2500 leva.

In perspective we don't intend to correct the retail prices of staple commodities and services.

ROBERT MAXWELL: *In the elections of June 7, 1981, 99.96 per cent of the electors in Bulgaria voted for the unified list of the Fatherland Front. It was underlined at the 12th Congress that the National Assembly should play a greater role. How do you expect to achieve this if the people's deputies gather now only four times a year for a few days?*

TODOR ZHIVKOV: The earlier 7th National Assembly had 16 sessions during its 4-year mandate. Ten or fifteen people's deputies took the floor at each of these sessions. With only this information it is natural to ask: how does the National Assembly manage to fulfil its responsible duties — to prepare and pass bills, to exercise control, etc.? In fact the situation is entirely different — the National Assembly is engaged in important intersession activity. There are standing commissions operating with the Assembly with the majority of people's deputies on them. For instance, during the expired mandate of the 7th National Assembly the Legislative Commission discussed independently or jointly with other standing commissions 56 bills and held 60 sessions with an average of 12 sittings annually. Things are the same with the other five standing commissions.

The standing commissions, which are the auxiliary bodies of the National Assembly, exercise on its behalf parliamentary control between the sessions. During the mandate of the 7th National Assembly the commissions heard reports of 98 ministers and heads of other departments on problem questions, as well as representatives of the county people's councils.

At the beginning of each year the standing commissions approved working groups of people's deputies to render concrete

help in the preparation of the country's draft plan for socio-economic development and of the draft budget. During the discussions of the draft plan for the years 1981 and 1982 and the budget for 1981 the standing commissions and the people's deputies submitted 150 proposals to the Commission for Socio-economic Development, 74 of which were approved by the National Assembly.

The individual work of the people's deputies with their electors contributes very much to enhancing the role of the National Assembly. They should meet and report to them about their work at least once a year. The majority of people's deputies set a very good example to this end.

The work of the 8th National Assembly elected on June 7, 1981 holds promise of still higher activity.

Of the 400 people's deputies who obtained the electoral vote, 83 are workers, 295 are specialists with higher education (74 per cent) and 33 are young people under 30 years of age. As compared with the 7th National Assembly, the number of women-deputies has increased by 9 per cent, of specialists with higher education 9.25 per cent and there are 156 newly-elected people's deputies in it.

With such composition the necessity to enhance the role of the National Assembly mentioned at the 12th Congress will be fulfilled. The control functions of the National Assembly over the government in general and over the different ministries will further increase. The practice of having the ministers reporting to the standing commissions, of discussing with them the more important projects, etc., will be expanded.

In the People's Republic of Bulgaria power comes from the people and belongs to the people. Everything our Parliament is doing is subject to the efforts aimed at the progress of the country, at the well-being of the people.

ROBERT MAXWELL: Don't you think that the Bulgarian trade unions should pay more attention to the needs of the workers and not to act predominantly as a transmission line for the policies of the government and the Party?

TODOR ZHIVKOV: Your question shows that you don't have a very clear understanding of the work of the Bulgarian

trade unions. We don't separate the efforts of the trade unions for meeting the workers' needs from their many-sided activity of carrying out the policies of the Party and the government. In other words, we don't regard the economic functions of the trade unions separately from their social functions.

Recognizing the leading role of the Party and mobilizing the working people for realization of the tasks outlined by the Party, the trade unions are making efforts to meet the demands and needs of the working class, of all citizens. The Party has always strived to develop independence and initiative in the trade unions in order to carry out their functions concertedly: to organize the working people into raising public labour efficiency and effectiveness of production, and on the basis of this, of making efforts to meet their needs still better. The correctness of this line of unity and interaction of trade union economic and social activity has been confirmed in the 37-year-long practice of socialist Bulgaria.

ROBERT MAXWELL: You are recognized as the most prominent statesman in the Balkans. What proposals and initiatives have you in mind to secure that the Balkans remain as peaceful in the future as they have been over the last years?

TODOR ZHIVKOV: The People's Republic of Bulgaria lies in the centre of the Balkan Peninsula and has common land borders with four countries, some with different social systems. With some of them she promotes her relations on the basis of socialist internationalism as we call it. With the rest we are guided by the well-known principle of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems.

The main, the determining, feature of Bulgaria's Balkan policy is the wish for the Balkans to remain a region of lasting peace and security and for the Balkan peoples, who have been through so many hardships in the past, to live in an atmosphere of trust, understanding, friendship, good-neighbourliness and mutually advantageous cooperation.

The latest expressions of our peaceful and constructive foreign policy are the new initiatives announced at the 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

Which are they?

We think that efforts should be directed towards constantly improving the climate of trust in the region; we have declared our

readiness to follow the path outlined in Helsinki, to convert the Balkans into a stable region of *détente*; we are ready to sign bilateral agreements with the neighbouring countries, agreements to include a code of good-neighbourly relations, renunciation of territorial claims, nonadmission of the use of the territory of the contracting parties for hostile purposes and actions against each other; we stand for further expansion of bilateral co-operation in the sphere of the economy, tourism, science, culture, education and sport, so that our peoples can become more familiar and friendly with each other; we are also ready to continue our co-operation with the other Balkan countries on a multilateral basis on issues of mutual interest.

For the strengthening of peace and security on the Balkan Peninsula and in Europe, for the conversion of our Peninsula into a stable region of *détente*, of particular significance would be the translation into life of the important initiative which we discussed with Comrade Leonid Brezhnev at this year's Crimean meeting – the proclamation of the Balkans for a nuclear-free zone.

We are firmly convinced that under the complicated international situation, the solely correct path corresponding to the vital interests of the whole of mankind is the path of a well-meaning and constructive dialogue, the path of co-operation, understanding and mutual trust. It is in this spirit that we are building our interstate relations with Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia.

ROBERT MAXWELL: *During your latest official visit to Greece you expressed the hope for better relations with Greece, especially in the sphere of trade. Judging from past experiences, which would you say are the positive results and what is the probable trend Greek-Bulgarian relations will take in the near future, especially after your visit there?*

TODOR ZHIVKOV: I shall take the liberty to specify: it is not just a question of the "hope for better relations with Greece", but of a conviction that further Bulgaro-Greek relations will follow an upward trend in all spheres, including the economic one. We have sufficient reasons to believe in this and they were further reinforced during the meeting we had recently in Greece

with President Constantine Karamanlis. Bulgaro-Greek summit meetings became a good tradition and a marvellous example of constructive dialogue – for the implementation of new useful initiatives within the framework of our co-operation.

I am very pleased with my latest visit to Greece, with the achievements so far, with the possibilities lying ahead. In 1980 trade between Bulgaria and Greece reached 440 million dollars. I believe you will agree that for two countries the size of ours, this figure is impressive. Equally satisfying is the fact that along with the promotion of trade, we are constantly seeking to introduce new, more progressive, forms of economic co-operation through long-term cooperation agreements, through deliveries of complete projects, through the setting up of joint enterprises, etc.

In this spirit are some new proposals of ours providing for the expansion of economic co-operation between the two countries in mechanical engineering, the chemical industry, power generation, the light and the food industries, transport, etc. Negotiations on these problems have already been held in June of this year in Sofia between the competent ministers of the two countries and a joint document was signed.

What are the concrete results we are to achieve? Only the future will show this. In any case a solid foundation has been laid.

ROBERT MAXWELL: *Having in mind the generally good relations of the People's Republic of Bulgaria with her non-communist Balkan neighbours, Greece and Turkey, and the numerous bilateral co-operation agreements with them, why is your country against a multilateral regional co-operation?*

TODOR ZHIVKOV: If you become acquainted with the communiqués of my meetings with some of the statesmen of our neighbouring countries, you will see plainly written: Bulgaria has never been and is not against co-operation between the Balkan countries on a multilateral basis.

In order to emphasize this I can enumerate a number of forms of co-operation between the Balkan states in which our country is participating actively. For the realization of some of these, the People's Republic of Bulgaria herself has been the initiator.

Thus, for instance, it was on the initiative of the Bulgarian Ministry of Transport that a meeting of experts from the Balkan countries was held in Sofia in June of this year. I know that the talks have proceeded in a atmosphere of mutual understanding and with good results. On the agenda have been a number of concrete problems relating to the development of co-operation between the Balkan countries through the application of new technologies in transport, through combined transportation. Measures have also been adopted to ease international transportation, etc. The meeting was attended by an observer from the Committee for Internal Transport of the Economic Commission of the United Nations for Europe.

The very character of the spheres of transport, communications, telecommunications, raw material resources, power generation, and environment conservation is such that the resolving of the problems will be more successful and more comprehensive if they are discussed at All-Balkan meetings with the participation of both international organizations and countries close to our Balkan region. Take, for instance, telecommunications, with lines running in circles all over Europe and to the Middle East. And there are also extra-Balkan countries, which in their daily economic practices need to cross the Balkans. As is known, the Balkans are a part of Europe and any attempts at separating them as a special regional unit or any attempts at turning them into a closed grouping are not based on serious foundations.

And there is also another point. Naturally, the Balkan countries, due to their relatively limited economic potential, are seeking bilateral or multilateral integration with powerful economic groupings outside the Balkan region, as are for instance, the C.M.E.A. and the E.E.C. Every country is free to choose the direction she will take. That is why the possibilities for All-Balkan co-operation should not be exaggerated. In my opinion it should be regarded as a supplement and a continuation of bilateral co-operation in those spheres in which the settlement of the problems supersedes the bilateral framework.

It seems to me that considering the variegated political picture in our region, the achievements in the sphere of understanding are not unsatisfactory. Along with the expansion of bilateral

relations in the name of peace and good-neighbourliness, in the future our country will continue to promote her relations of co-operation with the Balkan countries, including a multilateral basis, in those spheres in which conditions of mutual interest exist.

ROBERT MAXWELL: Since the death of President Tito relations with Yugoslavia have been relatively good. What triggered the current new "round" of the polemics over Macedonia?

TODOR ZHIVKOV: Both before and after President Tito's death our countries' relations have developed comparatively well, especially in the economic sphere. Headway has also been made in the spheres of science, culture, sport and so on.

In our view, however, what has been achieved so far is not up to either the objective needs or the real possibilities of the two countries. We have declared more than once, and this readiness of ours was confirmed at the 12th Congress, Bulgaria agrees to the further expanding of bilateral co-operation with Yugoslavia. We are convinced that it will yield still richer fruit for both countries, will contribute to our peoples' acquainting with each other, will become an important factor of consolidating peace, security and understanding in the Balkans, in Europe and in the world.

We consider it wrong to distinguish between the relations of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia before and after President Tito's death.

Your question about the current "new round" of the polemics over Macedonia is not quite correct either. Obviously what you have in mind are the publications in the Yugoslav press which have become quite frequent since February, because no material on the so-called disputable matters is carried in the Bulgarian mass media. In actual fact there are no polemics.

Our stand on these matters is clear: the People's Republic of Bulgaria finds that they can be solved successfully only in a spirit of mutual respect and esteem, by way of calm, well-meaning and constructive dialogue.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria has proposed more than once that the controversial issues, including the so-called

Macedonian issue, become subject to a joint scientific study and clarification with a view to arriving at mutually acceptable solutions. What is needed are profound and objective scientific research and analysis. It is more than clear that the one-sided emotional polemics in the press contribute nothing to any positive solution.

In her policy regarding the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria is led by the desire for an all-round development of the political, economic and cultural relations between the peoples of our two neighbouring socialist countries, in the interest of peace, good-neighbourliness and social progress in the Balkans.

ROBERT MAXWELL: *Provided Bulgaria has no "territorial claims" on Yugoslavia, as is often maintained, and if she is content with the decisions made after World War Two, would it not be but logical to discontinue any polemics on the so-called Macedonian issue?*

TODOR ZHIVKOV: Yes, we have declared more than once that Bulgaria has no territorial claims on any of her neighbours whatsoever — including Yugoslavia. The recognition of the political realities and state borders set after World War Two has been prompted by the objective laws of contemporary international relations, which are laid down in the U.N. Charter and in the Final Act of the All-European Conference on Security and Co-operation. In fact the point is not whether Bulgaria "is content with the decisions made after World War Two" or not but it is the voluntary and effective fulfilment of the obligations undertaken by her as a country participant in the Helsinki Conference.

In 1978 the People's Republic of Bulgaria proposed officially that the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia sign several documents including a Procedure for Discussing and Settling the Controversial Issues and a Solemn Declaration on Non-violability of Borders and Mutual Renunciation of Territorial Claims. These proposals on our side were prompted by the desire to put an end to the speculations on certain alleged territorial claims of Bulgaria on Yugoslavia and to consolidate mutual trust.

To the second part of the question: the People's Republic of Bulgaria has proved she is against any polemics in the mass

media. And we are not indulging in any. As mentioned already, the controversial issues in Bulgaro-Yugoslav relations should be discussed only through the means of science. The People's Republic of Bulgaria has never abandoned this principled and constructive approach.

ROBERT MAXWELL: *What do you think of President Reagan's foreign political stands, who does not back up the implementation of SALT-2 and for the time being refuses to hold constructive talks on détente or on the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe?*

TODOR ZHIVKOV: The foreign policy of the world's biggest capitalist state concerns all states of all continents. The foreign political course pursued at least so far by President Ronald Reagan's administration is not contributing to the consolidation of peace, *détente* and co-operation among nations.

Bulgaria is a small country and it does make a difference for us whether we should allot new means for defence, for a new round of the arms race in the years to come, or channel these means into peaceful construction, for making the life of the people better. It really makes a difference for us also whether the new U.S. nuclear missiles Cruise and Pershing II are deployed in Western Europe, especially since Bulgaria will fall within their range. This is our attitude towards the decision to produce the neutron weapon which, according to the strategic intention, could also be deployed on our continent.

The question is not that Bulgaria and the other socialist countries do not dispose of similar weaponry or of the potential of producing it. The question is different: the stockpiling of still newer, still more dangerous and costly, weapons does not make peace any securer. On the contrary, the growing pile of armaments itself is turning into a monstrous threat for mankind.

I will give a concrete example. We all know that today there is enough stockpiled weaponry to destroy mankind several times. But if by any chance or through technical fault on the part of the USA or the USSR an intercontinental rocket happens to be launched, it will fly for about half an hour before it hits its target. This time will suffice for both sides to operate their defence systems. It will suffice to use the "hot line" and clarify that this

has been a technical fault. Therefore, there is still a possibility of averting global disaster.

As is known, the United States of America and the Soviet Union have signed a treaty aimed at averting the accidental outbreak of a nuclear war.

If, however, the new US nuclear missiles are deployed in Western Europe, the situation will be seriously changed. It will take only five or ten minutes for a Pershing II type of rocket to reach its target. Military experts are unanimous on the fact that for the time being there are no technical means which can get the defence system ready for action in such a short period of time. And provided such a rocket is launched, the other side must react immediately, without having time to verify whether it is due to a slip or a deliberate mass assault has begun. The verge between war and peace is getting hair-thin. This is what it is all about!

It is for all of the above reasons that we think that the foreign-policy course of President Reagan's government is not overcome with the care to preserve peace, does not contribute to consolidating security, does not help the unfolding of co-operation. This is not a farsighted policy.

Bulgaria, together with the other countries of the socialist community, is pursuing a consistent policy aiming not at expanding the armaments but at their limitation and preserving the equal security of states. We opposed the plans of the deployment of the new U.S. nuclear weapons in Western Europe and proposed negotiations on this matter. As far as I know, in Great Britain too there are many people and political parties, such as the Labour Party, who agree with such a reasonable approach.

May I add something more. I know very well the Soviet Union, its leaders. I know very well Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev personally. And I can assure you that the Soviet Union, having suffered the greatest losses ever during the last war than anybody else, stands for peace and *détente* and is making every effort to preserve them.

Leonid Brezhnev is a wise statesman. He will go down in history as one of the greatest builders of peace and *détente* in our time.

The Soviet Union is sincerely striving for peace and *détente*, and this should be well understood by everybody. Naturally, it is about a just and democratic peace. The Soviet country, and it is also equally clear, will not be dictated to or be talked to from "the position of strength".

ROBERT MAXWELL: What would you say about the present state of relations between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the United States? In your view, can any of the two countries do something for their improvement, especially in the spheres of trade and culture?

TODOR ZHIVKOV: The People's Republic of Bulgaria develops her relations with the United States of America on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, equality and reciprocal advantage. If I am to give a more general assessment, I would say that Bulgaro-American relations develop normally, but in our opinion they do not correspond to the existing possibilities. In recent years some headway has been made in developing trade, economic, techno-scientific and cultural co-operation. The two countries' trade and the number of cultural events – ours in the USA and the American in Bulgaria – are on the increase. Certain revivals also occurred in the sphere of political relations.

It is known that we differ considerably in our views on all major international issues, on the reasons for the existing complicated international situation. Regardless of all that, we are in favour of the further development of the two countries' relations based on respecting and appreciating the respective stands. No doubt, developing the relations is a two-way process, it requires mutual desire and mutual efforts. We expect the striving declared by President Ronald Reagan's administration for continuing to develop the relations with Bulgaria to be followed by specific steps. A substantial contribution on the part of the United States, which could be of paramount importance for expanding the trade and economic and overall co-operation, would be the renunciation of its discriminatory policy towards Bulgaria and signing a trade agreement. Of course, this must be done, as we have previously mentioned, without any prior conditions, on an equal basis.

Our people cherish feelings of respect and friendship for the American people and their democratic traditions, for their contribution to the world civilization.

ROBERT MAXWELL: At present Bulgaria is playing a helpful part in maintaining good relations with the non-aligned and developing countries. Are there any data on the annual costs of the aid and technical assistance rendered to these countries?

TODOR ZHIVKOV: I cannot help expressing my satisfaction with the thought contained in your question, namely that Bulgaria plays a helpful part in maintaining good relations with the non-aligned and developing countries. Such a discovery, moreover, made by outside and impartial observers, saves us from the tricky situation of making our own assessment of our contribution, of boasting.

I have said previously that we Bulgarians have always had and are having feelings of sincere sympathy for the developing countries. We have rendered and we continue to render to them selfless moral, political, diplomatic and, to the best of our country's possibilities, material backing. We carry out intensive and still growing contacts with almost all developing countries. The size of the material aid rendered to the developing countries by a country like Bulgaria is not small. The People's Republic of Bulgaria exchanges her experience and renders economic and techno-scientific assistance in the building of industrial and other projects and in organizing agro-industrial complexes. All this is being effected on an equal and mutually advantageous basis, with strict observance of our partners' sovereignty and independence. In this way we help these countries build their own economy, we help the struggle of their peoples to overcome the backwardness, and for raising the people's living standard. To illustrate this, I would only mention that so far our country has granted credits to the developing countries to the tune of some 600 million foreign currency lev. They were intended mainly for building industrial and farming sites as well as infrastructure projects. The low interest rate and the favourable payment conditions express the aspiration of our state to assist in solving the problems of the developing countries.

Techno-scientific co-operation develops successfully. It extends to such fields as mining and geological prospecting, designers' and other engineering services, construction. Thousands of Bulgarian specialists — engineers, physicians, geologists and economists — work in the developing countries. At the same time young men and women from these countries get their education in our higher educational establishments. They, as well as their compatriots, in their postgraduate qualification period, participate with Bulgarian specialists in joint scientific research and development and raise the level of their knowledge and training in our secondary and higher educational establishments and institutes to apply them successfully later back in their native countries.

ROBERT MAXWELL: Mister President, I feel obliged to express my profound gratitude to you for the time you have spent in answering my questions, for the interesting, frank and comprehensive talk. I wish you lots of health and strength to continue to work as tirelessly as ever for the flourishing of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, for the success of peace and détente in the world, for understanding and co-operation among nations! Thank you very much indeed.

Selected Works, Vol. 32, pp. 405-466

COOPERATION BETWEEN THE EAST AND THE WEST IS AN OBJECTIVE REGULARITY

Speech

delivered to the participants in the International Symposium on Industrial Cooperation between Partners of the East and West, held in Varna, May 11, 1982

Distinguished Mr President,
Distinguished guests,
Distinguished comrades,

First of all I would like to fulfil the pleasant assignment of the state leadership of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and on my personal behalf as well, most cordially to greet all of you, representatives of the business circles of the East and West, who came here, in the city of Varna, and to wish fruitful work to the symposium on industrial cooperation.

Meetings of representatives of the business circles of the East and West have always held great importance for the relations between our countries and peoples. This meeting is remarkable, above all, for the fact that it is taking place in an extremely complicated international situation which, unfortunately, is getting more and more exacerbated. This makes the meeting *an event of principled significance in the struggle to preserve and expand the relations and mutually advantageous cooperation between the East and the West* in the various fields of life. That is why we are extremely happy that we are not just participants but also hosts to this symposium. I hope that our respective bodies have created the necessary conditions for your meeting to be both useful and pleasant.

Mr Kendel has just introduced me to you. I thank him for his kind words. As Mr Kendel said, I am the State Council President of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, a socialist country, and we,

the statesmen and party leaders in the socialist countries, are economic managers as well. We take a direct part in the building and management of the economy and occasionally interfere so openly in the work of economic organizations that we make it difficult for them. In a word, speaking in your terms, it follows I must be a businessman too. Therefore, in my capacity of a man with two souls, so to say, I have to treat the problems as a statesman, and politician and as one of the businessmen of Bulgaria.

THE FURTHER EXPANSION OF EAST-WEST COOPERATION AN OBJECTIVE LAW

Distinguished friends and comrades,

All of us in this hall have come from different parts of the world with best feelings and intentions. We think it is our duty to seek means of finding a way out of the current tension and of promoting world trade, especially the trade and cooperation between our countries. We are well aware that this can be achieved by maintaining and promoting, with the necessary calm, good faith and wisdom, the dialogue between representatives of the East and West, between people and functionaries of good will, on different levels and in different spheres.

Today I do not intend to make analyses and draw conclusions about the reasons for the complicated international situation. I shall dwell in brief only on those problems relevant to the subject of the symposium.

Recently I read an article by a well-known western author. There was not a single word about cooperation in it. For this author cooperation between the East and West is a foregone conclusion. In his opinion, there is not and there cannot be such a cooperation.

What is the general philosophy of the author of this article?

First. He argues, and we must admit his arguments are serious and profound from the viewpoint of his philosophy and conception, that the West must do its best to impede the development of Soviet economy. According to him the embargo and the sanctions which should spread to the other socialist countries as well, and the overall economic policy of the West must strive to

weaken the Soviet economy and the economies of the other socialist countries. He gives concrete examples how to do it. For instance, he suggests that the term for putting the 'Soviet Union - Western Europe' gas pipeline into operation should be extended and afterwards its exploitation made costlier, etc.

This is, essentially, the economic aspect of the author's thesis.

Second. The author's thesis has a political aspect, too. It boils down to arresting at all costs the rising living standards of the citizens of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, to driving a wedge between the peoples and governments of our countries, to achieving political destabilization in our countries which is the cherished dream of reaction.

I point out only the most general postulates and conclusions of the author of this article. If it were the concept of one single author, no matter how pretentious it may be, it would have hardly deserved our attention. But dear guests, dear comrades, when such a concept has become the policy of the leading western state, it is a qualitatively new phenomenon entailing consequences for the world and not only for the respective country. Because *this policy is directed against trade and cooperation in economy, it aims at undermining everything achieved so far between the East and the West.*

A question crops up here: is it possible to undermine the already traditional forms and approaches in the trade and cooperation between the East and West? Is it possible to undermine everything that is conducive to meetings of businessmen, signing of contracts and agreements on cooperation with mutually advantageous provisos, meetings of scientists and specialists, etc.?

Unfortunately, such a process is going on. It is no use to shut our eyes and not to see that a tremendous pressure is exerted to destroy everything that has been achieved since 1960 with so much effort and labour.

But is it possible that such a policy should have a lasting character and be established as a permanent line in the present-day world? No, it is not possible. I personally am a great optimist and I am deeply convinced that there are objective historical laws in operation thanks to which such a course can-

not last long. It can exist for a short time, it can inflict damages and create difficulties, but it cannot hold lasting promise.

What are the main arguments here?

The development of the productive forces in the individual countries, the progress made in science and technology more and more industrialize the world economy. *This law objectively necessitates to expand and deepen the international division of labour, to promote mutually advantageous cooperation between states.* By the way, this law was discovered by Karl Marx. I say this not to enlist you for his philosophy but lest you should think I want to appropriate his merit.

Practices and life since the time of Marx up till now have been repeatedly corroborating this law. Let me give an example. You know that after World War II an embargo was imposed on the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the so-called economic blockade. It was very broad in scope. Trade and cooperation of the West with the socialist countries was considered next to a crime, an amoral act. And it was so for nearly fifteen years.

Why did the economic blockade collapse? How did it happen so that an avalanche-like process, so to say, in the development of trade between the East and the West began in the early '60ies?

Some may say: this is due to the fact that the Eastern countries turned to the Western countries and said: 'Please, let us trade with you!' The West showed good will by saying: 'It is a deal, we agree!' Or conversely: the West addressed such a request to the socialist countries, and they agreed.

Of course, these are naive explanations.

After World War II the economy of the socialist countries was underdeveloped as a result of many factors and circumstances. Under those conditions many Western companies lacked economic interest in trade with our countries. So it was only too easy to impose an economic blockade. But things have rapidly changed. *The socialist economy mustered strength and developed at high rates, the highest in the world. By 1960 it already possessed the necessary potential to be able to participate actively in the international division of labour.* Consequently, this was the deed not of the subjective factor, not of the

governments of the East and the West, not of the businessmen, but of the objective circumstances created by the economic potentialities of the socialist countries, which made them capable of joining the international division of labour.

The expansion of foreign economic ties reflected in a positive way on the political ties as well. The ice of the 'cold war' cracked. The Helsinki Conference appeared on the political horizon in 1975. The two streams of *détente*, the political and the economic one, merged into one.

I had the honour to participate in the Helsinki Conference and my signature is affixed to the Final Act. I have not withdrawn my signature. None of the signatory parties has done so as yet. Therefore, the Final Act continues to be in force today. There are provisions in it for economic, commercial and cultural cooperation.

It is true that there exist *two socio-economic systems* – ours, the socialist system, and the Western, the capitalist system. They existed at that time, they still exist today. But these two systems share the same planet. They have no other alternative than peaceful coexistence. Objective laws dictate the development of cooperation between them. And neither we, who are sitting here in this hall, nor anybody from the East or West can abrogate this.

FOR MUTUALLY ADVANTAGEOUS TRADE BETWEEN THE EAST AND THE WEST

Today, adhering to the course of making the international situation more involved, many Western politicians, ideologists and statesmen zealously propagate and uphold the allegation that *trade between the East and the West was to the advantage of the socialist countries alone*. And since this trade was disadvantageous to the West, there was no use promoting it.

Is this how matters stand?

Mutual advantage is a never failing incentive for trade between the East and the West. There is no other prerequisite and no other consideration than mutual interest.

Why is this so?

Because what is concerned here is trade, commodities. And what is a commodity? I shall not characterize it in elaborate

economic terms. I will only point out that a commodity has two aspects: consumer value and cost. These are but the two sides of a coin. The purchaser is interested in its consumer value, the seller – in its cost. There is no disproportion here: it is not possible that in the exchange of commodities one party should gain and the other should not. It is in the very nature of commodity to be exchanged, sold. Otherwise, it would not be a commodity. A commodity cannot be confined in gaol. People can, but not commodities and ideas.

This was evidently the economic purport that guided the US President Reagan in lifting the embargo, imposed by Carter on grain exports for the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is interested in buying grain, it needs grain and is ready to buy. US farmers are also interested in the deal, because they have to sell their goods. It is a matter of several billion US dollars. The process is a two-way one.

Who has gained and who has lost in trade between the East and the West since 1960?

The historic truth is that everybody gained: both those who were selling and those who were buying.

Trade is equivalent. *We make no secret of, nor underestimate the importance of trade with the West for the development of our countries.* It is advantageous to us because it enables us to import new machines, new technologies for some branches of our industry, scientific potential, and avail ourselves of production expertise. We have never denied this, we do not deny it now.

But it cannot be true that there is no advantage in this trade for the West. Nothing of the kind. Over this period the Western countries assured themselves of a new market to which they had no access prior to 1960 – the market of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. The West-European countries loaded their production capacities and created jobs for over two million people. Furthermore, they procured some energy sources, prime and raw materials and agricultural produce. They buy from us lots of machinery and equipment. In 1980, Western Europe exported around 60,000 million dollars worth of goods to the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

So you see *that the countries of Western Europe as well as Japan and Canada only gained, rather than lost, from their trade with the socialist countries.* This would not have been possible in the conditions of confrontation. Apart from being able to bring about a nuclear holocaust, confrontation can paralyze world trade.

Therefore, *facts go to show that trade is beneficial both for East and West.* It was precisely for this reason that trade during that period snowballed despite the many difficulties and obstacles along the way.

After World War II, embargo and blockade, blockade and embargo, were much talked about. *The talk now is of sanctions, sanctions, nothing but sanctions.*

But who would benefit from these economic 'sanctions', who would stand to gain from them?

Let us leave aside the funny pretentiousness of the term 'sanctions' in this case. Let us take the question of who can now undertake real economic measures against the Soviet Union and the socialist countries? It is Western Europe and to a certain extent Japan, that are in a position to do so, for they trade heavily with the Soviet Union. The measures taken by the United States cannot be of vital importance as its trade with us accounts for 2.5 per cent of our trade with Western Europe, and grain accounts for 80 per cent of our imports from the United States.

Well, let us say that some fine day in the future we wake up in the morning to learn from the radio or television, or from the press that Western Europe and Japan have decided to halt all trade with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Let us think it over and see what huge losses the businessmen from these countries will suffer. In addition, simple arithmetic shows that unemployment and inflation will rise in these countries. What will happen then? *It would be ridiculous to think that the Soviet Union and the socialist countries can be liquidated with such 'sanctions'.* But will this not lead to the downfall of some western governments? It is no mere chance that the imposition of such economic sanctions has many opponents.

I read a statement recently by Charles Percy, Chairman of the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He called the 'sanctions' against the Soviet Union, and not quite tactfully, 'a

silly policy, dictated by emotions, not by sober-minded political interest'. Further on he said that by 'imposing trade sanctions to punish others, we in practice weaken our own positions, deprive the American industry of lucrative orders, which, as a result, are placed with our competitors, and undermine confidence in ourselves. In future, some countries will think twice before deciding to conclude deals with American companies, fearing, and not without reason, that the fulfilment of contracts may, for one reason or another, be jeopardized by the US government.'

We have political differences with the Chairman of the Senate Committee. I am at the head of a communist party and of a socialist state, and he is a statesman from the biggest capitalist country. But I quite agree with his assessment and have nothing to add to it. I agree with everything, even the fullstops and commas.

I should like to stress once again that both sides, *the whole of mankind, stand to lose from the restriction and halt in trade and scientific and technical cooperation between the East and West.* Apart from economic consequences, the notorious 'sanctions', if applied, will lead to new deformations, to complication of the international situation, with all its political, military and other effects, to the danger of a thermo-nuclear war.

Some people say: true, everyone will lose, but the East will lose more. The question of who will lose more is controversial. I would advise these people not to forget, when assessing the potentialities of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, that anti-Soviet propaganda is one thing, while actual facts are quite another.

What is our economic community, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, like? You know it very well. It has everything — fuels, raw materials and metal! It has built huge material facilities of its own. In spite of this we are against its being shut within its own frameworks. We are in favour of an economic cooperation between the East and the West and consider its undermining to be not only disadvantageous but dangerous as well.

Naturally, *when we stress that objective conditions are at hand to expand economic, scientific and technical cooperation between the East and the West, we are far from assuming that*

this can be done automatically. No, it cannot. Confrontation must be combatted and so must the attempts to liquidate everything that has been achieved since 1960. This corresponds to the most cherished desires of millions upon millions of people in Eastern Europe, as well as in Western Europe, Japan and the United States. New methods, ways and forms of East-West cooperation should be sought. It is therein that we see the role and contribution of this symposium of the representatives of business circles.

I am convinced that just as in the 1960s detente was initiated by businessmen, now too they will make their contribution to the relaxation of international tension and to ending confrontation. For owing to the nature of their activities, businessmen cannot work in the conditions of confrontation and under the threat of war. They are realists, take a sober-minded view of facts and in a number of cases act more wisely than some politicians do in the solution of contemporary problems.

As to the theme of the seminar, it has obviously been selected very well from the viewpoint of the present stage of development. On our planet on which two socio-economic systems exist industrial cooperation is of long-term and lasting importance for the interests of both the East and West. I hail the idea of discussing precisely this theme here, in our country.

THE ECONOMY OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA IS DEVELOPING AT STABLE RATES

Distinguished guests, comrades,

I am not going to dwell on our interests and concrete proposals in the sphere of industrial cooperation. Comrade Andrei Loukanov and the other experts will probably do this. I will only characterize, though in brief, the state of our economy.

The main characteristics of our economy is its stable progress. We have problems and difficulties but our economy is developing successfully. This applies not only to the last few years, but to several decades on end now.

What is this stable development represented in?

First, our rates of economic growth are among the highest in the world. In spite of the unfavourable effect of the energy, raw material and monetary crisis in the capitalist world on our

economy, its rates are generally good, and continue being among the highest.

Second. With regard to the people's living standards, it can definitely be stated that they are rising steadily year by year. Despite the deterioration of the international situation, despite the difficulties of objective and subjective nature, we have not allowed a setback in meeting our people's material and cultural needs. The growth rates of the living standards envisaged in the five-year plan are guaranteed by the necessary conditions and are being kept up.

Third. Our foreign trade balance is also stable. In the last three or four years, we have been settling accounts with a trade surplus. We have no monetary problems. This is well known both in the East and West, and it can be checked.

Not only for ideological considerations, but also as a country taking an active part in the international division of labour, we have a stake in expanding trade and industrial cooperation with all countries of the world. *Ours is an 'open' economy* because the value of our foreign trade exchange in proportion to the national income is over 75 per cent. And it is known that an economy is termed 'open' if this ratio stands at 25 per cent. The logical inference is: *the successful development of our economy demands an active participation in the international division of labour.*

The question is well-justified: Why is the socio-economic development of the People's Republic of Bulgaria stable, and what is the clue to it?

Undoubtedly the clue is to be found, above all, in the correct policy of the Party and the state, in the labour and talent of the millions of people in our country. I would emphasize yet another factor: *we broadly bank on economic integration and cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries and, above all, with the Soviet Union.* Bulgaria has a strong backing and is capable of manoeuvring in any kind of market, with no surprises sprung on our economy. We find great support in this.

Our country is small in size and we cannot undertake to do all; therefore, as an economic complex, we wish to take our place not only in the socialist, but also in world economy, in the division of labour on a world scale. We are prepared to discuss

comprehensively the development of new forms and approaches to economic specialization and cooperation since we have the potentialities for it. With every passing year our country is increasingly becoming established as a worthy partner of even the most advanced countries in economic respect. Some might say: Todor Zhivkov is painting things in bright colours. I would not think so. Look through our press and you will see how critical and self-critical we are with regard to the shortcomings in our work. And we find this attitude extremely helpful.

Bulgaria has a clear conception: participation in the international division of labour should be growing. If some should force it upon us to stop the development of this process, we shall naturally do all we can, together with the other socialist countries, to become self-sufficient, while the storm blows over. But who will then be the loser? The losers will be those who do not trade with us. The socialist countries' foreign economic relations are indeed stable. When we sign contracts, we do carry them out. Let us put aside the case of Poland. The difficulties experienced there are temporary ones. Poland will become stabilized.

What is most important to us in industrial cooperation is production cooperation along the whole line, beginning with scientific backup, through the securing of everything necessary for production and sales, to guaranteeing payments. We believe that this is the approach which will yield positive results in the further development of trade between the East and West. In this respect we have already taken some steps in practice. Probably you know that by a special decree of the State Council of 1980, to which my signature is affixed, juridical persons in this country are afforded opportunities to conclude agreements on industrial cooperation and joint ventures with juridical and physical persons in the East and West alike. Details of the content of this decree can be provided by our comrades.

Dear guests,

At this meeting I took the liberty to dwell briefly, in general outline, on some points which reflect the views of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on such a cardinal issue as East-West economic cooperation.

Obviously, in this respect, too, we would be fully justified to say that there is no alternative, nor can there be any.

Nonetheless, some try to advance alternatives. What are their theses and are they acceptable?

One of the theses advanced before the wide public in statements by top-ranking officials, including presidents, is limited nuclear war. Moreover, it concerns not a limited nuclear war in general, but one in Europe.

The strategists planning this limited nuclear war reckon that we, Europeans, would annihilate one another, and they would come to bury us and carry away the heritage. No. No one will manage to arrive for our burial because those planning to come over would live but several dozen minutes or a couple of hours longer than those for whose burial they had been getting ready.

Another thesis is the arms race and the surprise attack.

What kind of alternative is this?

I realize, and this is understandable to all, that any businessman, in America, Europe, Africa or Asia, in the East or the West, seeks profit in selling his goods. It may be 2, or 5 dollars, but he must have some profit. He cannot afford to lose in selling his goods. The same applies to our businessmen — it may be 2 or 5 levs, 2 or 5 roubles, but still a profit.

Is it possible to apply this principle to armament? None other but the experts have calculated that the stock-piles of nuclear weapons can destroy us 15 times over. Apparently this is more than enough to kill us together with the strategists of the first nuclear strike.

What could be the importance in this case of stockpiling additional weapons, or, to put it figuratively, two or five more bullets in the soldier's cartridge-box?

As to the surprise blow and the hopes of those who deal it that they would not be affected and would survive, I would put it more politely than the US Senate Committee Chairman and say that this conception is indeed illusory.

There is yet another thesis now advanced in the United States and the other highly developed capitalist countries. The advocates of this thesis reason like this, for example: the absolute national income increment in the developed capitalist states is larger than that in the socialist countries. This advantage is their historical chance and they must use it at all costs by stepping up

the arms race, draining the economies of the socialist countries, causing social and political upheavals in them.

Are these calculations correct?

True, the absolute national income increment in the socialist countries is still smaller than that in the developed capitalist nations. But simple arithmetic shows that the socialist system has huge reserves. If we put aside the ideological propaganda and diversion, we must say that criticism in the western press addressed to us to the effect that we do not make sufficient use of these reserves, is correct. And we are grateful for this criticism. But you know that we are now *doing everything possible to restructure our development along intensive lines*. It is true, that our growth rates are for the time being lower than they were some years ago, but in spite of this they are two to four points higher than those in the western countries. And this is no temporary phenomenon or a historical chance. It is an objective historical law.

Dear friends,

We all are convinced that the world today is not what it used to be 50 years ago, even 20 years ago. Everything in the world keeps changing as a result of many factors, *including the present scientific and technical revolution with its flow of information, satellites, conquest of outer space, etc.* What does our planet look like now? It looks like a big village.

Mr Kendel said here that I was born in a village. Years ago in my native village we would shout out in a loud voice from one hill to get our message across to the other. From one hill to another, from one quarter of the village to another. Now if hooked up to a satellite, our meeting can be listened to and watched from all parts of the world. Our earth is like a big village. It is true that there are two socio-economic systems in this village, but it does not follow from this fact that we should destroy one another and then look for another village. As is known, we send out signals to the Universe but have as yet received no signals from another civilization. It is clear that as long as we are not sure of a place to go to, we must preserve our village, our mother earth and find ways and possibilities of living on it.

Naturally, we shall continue our competition. But let us compete in the development of the economy, trade, in creating better social conditions for people and in the quest for solutions to global issues and ecological problems.

Our planet faces all kinds of other problems.

But we can and must seek a solution to these problems only on the basis of peaceful coexistence. *Peace has no alternative nowadays. A thermo-nuclear war means catastrophe, the end of mankind, the extinction of life. This is no propaganda, this is a fact. I know very well the destruction nuclear weapons can cause. And as a man who knows this, I say and will keep saying: Reason must prevail over adventurism, over the blind forces which can prove fatal to mankind! There is only one path to the future for mankind, the path of peace and cooperation!*

Distinguished guests,

If you come to like Varna and our Black Sea coast, if you are pleased with the conditions of work and if your stay here proves useful and pleasant, we would be very glad to propose that *Varna should become a traditional centre of meetings of business circles from East and West in the interest of world peace, in the interest of the prosperity of mankind.*

Thank you for your attention.

(Verbatim report)

Selected Works, Vol. 33, pp. 209-222

GEORGI DIMITROV'S LIFEWORK AND OUR TIME

*Statement at the International Theoretical Conference held in Sofia to
mark the 100th anniversary of the birth of Georgi Dimitrov
June 17, 1982*

Distinguished guests,
Distinguished comrades,

First of all I would like to say that the delegation of the Bulgarian Communist Party is the last to take the floor at the plenary session because it is the host to this conference and not because it has any intention to make a concluding statement.

Our conference is coming to its end. During these three days, many comrades, representatives of communist and workers' parties, of different revolutionary-democratic movements took the floor, and the voices of different generations were heard.

What united our thoughts and feelings, was the deep respect for Georgi Dimitrov, for his revolutionary cause.

The high evaluation given to Georgi Dimitrov's personality and lifework fills us, Bulgarian communists, and our entire working people with legitimate and noble pride.

That is because Georgi Dimitrov, the remarkable revolutionary of a Leninist type, the eminent functionary of the international communist and workers' movement, the intransigent fighter against fascism and war, the respected Secretary General of the Comintern, was a great son of Bulgaria, flesh of the flesh of the Bulgarian working class, a talented disciple of Dimiter Blagoev, the founder of our Marxist revolutionary Party, he was the beloved leader of our Party in a fateful period of its history of 90 years.

Allow me, distinguished guests and comrades, to express to you the most cordial gratitude of the Central Committee of the

Bulgarian Communist Party for the moving words said about Georgi Dimitrov, about our Party and our country.

As is known, the great personalities in history, while tackling the problems of their time, forge out ideas and principles which they leave behind to posterity as a legacy, as non-transient assets. And in this way they come abreast of the future.

Georgi Dimitrov's strength as a theoretician and politician lies in his boundless fidelity to Marxism-Leninism, to proletarian socialist internationalism. He was a mastermind of revolutionary action, possessed the remarkable skill of discovering new forms and approaches to develop successfully the revolutionary power of the masses – new ways and means corresponding to the objective requirements of the times. He was adept at learning the lessons of life, at testing the correctness of theoretical formulations in the practical actions of the masses and offering new solutions which in the final analysis enriched theory itself.

This innovative trend in Georgi Dimitrov's theoretical and practical activities is a vivid expression of the sense of historical responsibility characteristic of the activity of communists, of the communist and workers' parties, of their leaders. Georgi Dimitrov had the power of spirit and ability to shoulder such a responsibility.

Suffice it to recall his merits for the Leninization of the Bulgarian Communist Party; his titanic duel with fascism in the days of the Reichstag Fire Trial; his stupendous contribution to the development and strengthening of the international communist movement; his theoretical and practical activity in the early years of socialist construction in Bulgaria.

In organizing this conference, we proceeded from the belief that Georgi Dimitrov's lifework, his contribution to theory and the path traversed by him as a revolutionary, are a source of lessons and a basis for a dialogue, for fruitful reflections, analyses and generalizations which may have a direct bearing on our work and struggle.

Dear guests,
Comrades,

The second half of the 1930s, when Georgi Dimitrov stood at the helm of the Communist International, were a period of complicated and crucial developments in the history of mankind.

Together with his comrades from the leadership of the Comintern, drawing upon the experience and theoretical formulations of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and a number of other communist parties, he made a contribution of exceptional value to the development of the new strategy and tactics of the communist movement.

Times have changed. Essential quantitative and qualitative changes have set in in world development, in the positions of class forces. The times have put forth new problems, fateful for the future of mankind.

Obviously the focal point in which all these problems intersect is the problem of peace, of averting a world thermo-nuclear war.

Engels as well as Lenin anticipated that when arms capable of wiping out whole armies had been developed, war would become an absurdity. These arms have now been developed. A modern war would stop at no frontiers or classes of people. There would be no front or rear, belligerent or neutral states, victors or vanquished.

Consequently, today the question above all questions, concerning all peoples and classes, the question of mankind's very existence is not to allow a thermo-nuclear catastrophe.

This is, therefore, in our view, the main, strategic task of the countries of existing socialism, of the international communist and workers' movement, of all other progressive, democratic and peace-promoting forces in the world in the present circumstances.

Not to allow the sparking off of a world thermo-nuclear conflagration is now in our view, also the cardinal problem in the development of the world revolutionary process. The successful construction of socialism and communism is inseparably linked with peace. The victorious development of the national and social revolutions is associated with peace, too. The overall progress of human society is associated with peace.

The fact that nuclear war is an absurdity, unfortunately does not by far mean that the threat of such a war has been eliminated. The scope of the struggle for peace, and the success in this struggle now depend above all on the skill to organize and arouse all forces which stand against war.

In this respect, Georgi Dimitrov provides an example and a lesson how the realities should be analyzed, proceeding from the concrete historical developments, how the approaches, tasks and scale of activity should be specified in consideration of the changing circumstances. It is necessary, as he put it, 'to take into account the concrete situation at each point in time and at each given place', to identify and resolve 'at each stage the concrete tasks of the revolutionary movement, which correspond to that stage'.

We are not fatalists, and in no way think that war is inevitable. On the contrary, we are optimists. We fight in the belief that war can be averted, that peace can be strengthened. We are deeply convinced that peaceful coexistence between states having different social systems is the only rational alternative to a thermo-nuclear war, that it corresponds to the interests of all states and peoples, of all mankind.

Do we have, at the current stage, sufficient potentialities to isolate and neutralize the warmongers?

Yes, we do; mankind can avert a thermo-nuclear war.

First. Those who are pushing the world to a nuclear war are an insignificant minority; their real goals are so anti-humane that they are afraid to express them openly. Their policy runs counter to the interests both of the working class and of the other classes and strata, and also, in the final count, to the interests of the ruling class.

Second. The present policy of the imperialist forces, and above all of the US administration, is absurd and is in sharp contradiction not only with the interests of the overwhelming majority of states, but also of the USA itself.

Third. The doomed adventurist policy of imperialism's reactionary circles is opposed by the coordinated constructive and peace-promoting foreign policy of the socialist community. Our foreign policy enjoys the support of all peace forces, because it aims not only at guaranteeing peaceful conditions for the construction of the new society, but also at saving all mankind, the future generations, human civilization.

Fourth. Since the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution to date, history has irrevocably borne out the truth, which was powerfully voiced here, too, that the communist

movement is the most consistent and most crucial force in the struggle for peace. Today the world communist and workers' movement is much more powerful and more influential than it was in Georgi Dimitrov's time. It is developing, searching for and finding new forms of action and struggle, of communication and solidarity, particularly in the struggle to prevent a world war.

Both our common class goals and tasks and the task of all mankind to prevent a nuclear catastrophe, our own position as the most decisive force in the struggle for peace, demand from us, communists, to unite our ranks and to coordinate our actions.

Fifth. In our days, the national liberation movements, the developing countries and the non-aligned countries' movement are a powerful factor in the common front of struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy and social progress.

In this connection I would like also to touch upon *the question of the anti-war movements in the capitalist countries*. I fully share the view that they are becoming an essential factor in the realities of the day.

Indicative of it is the sweep of this movement. Its scope is, in general, unprecedented in the past history of the struggle for peace. In many countries, the US included, hundreds of thousands of people take part in campaigns and demonstrations, in meetings and rallies against the danger of a nuclear war, against the policy of the US and the militaristic NATO circles.

Indicative also is the broad and democratic character of this movement. Taking part in it *en masse* and spontaneously, on an equal footing, are people of different classes and social groups, of different educational levels and views, of different party affiliation, including also representatives of different religions.

Indicative is the fact that this anti-war movement is, to a large extent, a youth movement. It is becoming clear to an ever growing number of young people in the capitalist countries that there can be no personal happiness unless peaceful conditions exist for normal life for all people.

Indicative is the fact that the communists are among the most active participants in the anti-war movements. And this is natural: being anti-imperialist in its essence, the struggle for peace cannot be waged without the most consistent fighters

against imperialism. The communists do not set themselves the task of imposing their political line on the other participants in the movement. In the struggle for peace there is no room for rivalry, for isolation of some or other progressive forces.

Indicative also is the fact that the mass anti-war movements have developed with particular force in the industrialized capitalist countries. People there are becoming aware that the war danger arises from the present US administration and some of its allies in their own countries.

The present-day anti-war movements, which are to a smaller or larger extent spontaneous and heterogeneous, but ever more massive, can acquire even greater importance in international politics, in the common struggle for peace.

In this connection I would like to bring up two problems which are, in my view, of importance and could not be ignored since they concern the very essence of the anti-war movements.

The first problem is not to allow a break through the front of the anti-war movement, not to blunt or water down its anti-imperialist orientation.

A resolute rebuff should be given to any attempts to put on the same plane the USA and the USSR, the NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. The anti-war movement should not fight against the strong, but against the one who uses one's might for aggressions, wars and adventures. And this is imperialism. This is the present US administration and its followers in the other countries. The mainstay of the peace drive is the Soviet Union. And he who indeed wants to fight against war should know who is his foe and who is an ally.

The other problem involves the attempts to lull the vigilance of the anti-war forces, to weaken their pressure. Gravely alarmed by the awakening of the broad masses of people, which until recently they tended to neglect, the ruling imperialist circles have now obviously launched manoeuvres to deceive public opinion. They have donned the mask of love of peace. They come out with proposals, which are allegedly in favour of peace and détente, but are in essence directed against peace as they aim to military superiority. Of similar character are some of the latest proposals of President Reagan, as, for instance, the so-called 'zero option'.

One of the salient features of our time, when compared with the period preceding the Second World War, is the practically *unlimited scope of the forces*, which have a stake in safeguarding and strengthening peace. *The global character of the thermo-nuclear catastrophe lends a global character to the struggle to prevent it, too.*

Hence our conviction that it is possible, and beneficial to the cause of peace, to draw a dividing line, leaving on the one side the US military and political topcrust and its most reactionary allies, and on the other, the ever growing front of peace, of the anti-war forces and factors, including:

- from *the class point of view* – the workers and peasants, the intelligentsia, the petty owners, the middle class and even a considerable part of big business;

- from *the political point of view* – communists and socialists, the peasant and different other parties and alliances of the petty bourgeoisie, democratic, liberal parties, realistic politicians and statesmen;

- from *the point of view of states* – the socialist community – the most powerful and consistent bastion of peace, the developing countries, as well as the governments of a number of industrialized capitalist states;

- from *the point of view of social movements and public organizations* – the youth and women's organizations, the trade unions and the movements of environmentalists, sportsmen, men of art, cultural unions and different clubs of people of similar interests, religious organizations.

In order to safeguard peace, purposeful work is required to mobilize all peace-loving forces and factors, to build the broadest possible front of peace. In the current situation Georgi Dimitrov's dictum: 'no empty words, no Platonic wishes but actions are needed to oppose fascism and war' have a very topical ring.

Comrades,

It is clear to all that the present adventurist foreign policy of the US is spearheaded above all against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Today's leaders of the US passionately long, to the point of blindness and loss of the sense of reality, to 'bury' socialism and to get historic 'revenge' for the

Great October Revolution, for the numerous other revolutions, which have changed the political map of the Earth.

At the same time, spreading the myth of an alleged 'Soviet menace' and 'communist aggressiveness', the US unceremoniously infringes upon the interests of its allies in Western Europe and Japan, as well as on the interests of the developing countries. *The core of this policy is the US hegemony, which has never before been so strongly manifest. This is a policy leading to greater perturbations in the capitalist world.*

It is known that capitalism is in the grips of an extremely grave crisis – economic, social and moral – which is in fact permanent.

- The economy of the capitalist states is in the grips of deep structural crises; involving raw materials, energy, ecology.

- The cyclic economic crises have become more frequent; they have intensified in depth. During the last decade alone, three such crises broke out, spreading to almost all industrialized capitalist states. The rates of growth have substantially dropped in many Western countries.

- A great part of the production capacities in the capitalist countries stay idle. A number of sectors have been severely affected: ferrous metallurgy, the textile industry, car manufacturing, etc.

- Unemployment has reached great scope, hitting about 8 per cent of the able-bodied population. The situation of youth is even graver. Inflation is galloping.

The relations among the capitalist states now differ substantially from those in the years following the Second World War. US imperialism's economic, monetary and trade leadership has weakened. Whereas in 1950, for instance, the volume of industrial output in the US was twice that of Western Europe and Japan, taken together, in the beginning of the '80s, the US share has dropped to 29 per cent, while Western Europe and Japan have accounted for more than 47 per cent of the industrial output of the capitalist world.

The common class interests, the common fear of the development and successes of socialism push the West European and Japanese bourgeoisie to an alliance with the US, sometimes

making it give in to the pressure of the US monopolies and seek compromises in order to consolidate their common anti-socialist front.

At the same time, however, *rivalry and competition* in the economic sphere are intensifying, not bypassing political relations, either.

In this situation, the attempts of the US to come out of the crisis at the expense of its allies from the other capitalist countries, as well as of the states of the Third World, are becoming ever more obvious.

The US is trying in different ways to hold back the economic development of Western Europe and Japan. It uses the mechanism of high interest rates; exerts pressure on the European members of NATO and on Japan to increase their spending on armaments, to take over a bigger share of the 'defence of the West'; tries to compel them to apply the notorious 'sanctions' which aim at restricting mutually beneficial economic cooperation of the capitalist countries with the socialist states.

The West European and Japanese business and political circles realize this and more hesitantly or more resolutely oppose it.

The attitude of the US and that of the ruling circles in most of the capitalist countries on the question of détente differs. In Western Europe there are circles of the monopoly bourgeoisie which support Reagan's policy. But the stand that there is no alternative to peaceful coexistence is gaining prevalence in the business and political circles of a number of countries. They speak out all the more definitely in favour of negotiations on controversial issues, of reviving the spirit of détente.

The contradictions between the US and the interests of the developing countries are growing even deeper. The US ruling circles cannot become reconciled to the fact that the bulk of the young national states strive for political and economic independence, endeavour to control their natural and manpower resources themselves. They have qualified the revolutionary and liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America as 'international terrorism', while they themselves render open support to military juntas and dictatorial regimes, exert pressure on

and address threats at the progressive governments. They pursue an economic policy which hampers progress in the developing countries and aggravates the backwardness and poverty in that part of the world where thousands of millions of our brothers live. Today the developing countries' debt to the capitalist states has already reached the impressive sum of 500,000 million dollars.

All this makes it obvious that *the front of the forces which objectively have a stake in waging a struggle against US hegemony is extremely broad.* Without acquitting the reactionary circles in the other countries, it is our duty to unmask and isolate US imperialism – the main culprit for the enormous burden of the arms race, for the plight of the developing countries, and also for many of the current difficulties of the capitalist states.

In the British Parliament Mr Reagan proclaimed the next 'crusade' against socialism. Facts, however, convincingly show that US imperialism has actually been on a crusade on a much larger scale, not only against socialism, but also against its own allies, against the developing countries, against the working class, peasants, intellectuals, women and young people all over the world – a crusade against the vital interests of its own people: one against all.

Dear guests,

Dear comrades,

Life has irrefutably proved that the problem of peace and war, as well as any other problem of cardinal importance in our time, cannot be resolved without and, still less so, against existing socialism.

Why is this so?

Because in the world of today, existing socialism has not only gained strong foothold over huge territories of the Earth, but also because through its history-making achievements – *first*, in the economic sphere, *second*, in the solution of the age-old social problems facing mankind, and *third*, in the building of powerful armed forces – it is a crucial factor of human progress.

What is the justification of this conclusion?

First of all, the countries of existing socialism have succeeded in establishing, within a historically short period of time, their own reliable defence potential, which the aggressive forces of imperialism are willy-nilly forced to take into account.

It was not the socialist countries, but the imperialists and first of all US imperialism that launched the formation of military, military-political and economic blocs after the Second World War.

It was not the socialist but the imperialist countries and in the first place the US that launched the production of thermonuclear weapons.

The new social system which history had brought to life had no other alternative but to eliminate the imperialists' advantage in the military sphere at the cost of much effort and sacrifices. The achievement of military parity, which provided opportunities for the consolidation of world peace and for political détente during the 1970s, has been a historic victory, an epoch-making success of existing socialism, of the forces of peace.

Bourgeois propaganda painstakingly diverts the attention of millions of people from the big question: who has been checking the militarists, who has been bridling them and who has been guaranteeing a peaceful life without a world war to the peoples for nearly 40 years now? *The answer is categorical: this force has been above all existing socialism and the Soviet Union in the first place!*

Apart from the military potential of existing socialism, its economic successes, the economic potential of our countries are today of stupendous importance for the cause of peace.

In the 1950-1980 period the national income of all socialist countries increased 8-fold, the volume of their industrial output – 14-fold, capital investments (for the CMEA member-countries) – nearly 12-fold. Though our development rates have temporarily slowed down over the last few years due to understandable causes, they are yet by 2 to 4 points higher.

We do not underrate the economy of the industrialized capitalist countries, their economic potential, which has been created in the course of centuries through the exploitation of their own and foreign peoples. These countries have a higher ab-

solute national income growth than the socialist countries. This is an advantage but it is a temporary advantage.

Some ideologists and politicians of the West claim, and apparently believe, that by stepping up the arms race, they will deplete the economies of the socialist countries and will bring about social cataclysms and political destabilization in them.

We do not argue, the funds which we are forced to set aside for the needs of our defence, are not the best way of spending the respective portion of our national income. Had it not been for the arms race imposed by imperialism, the socialist countries would solve considerably more rapidly and certainly better important problems connected with the material and cultural well-being of their peoples.

And yet, those who hope that we would not set aside the necessary funds to defend our freedom, fully deceive themselves. The peoples of the socialist countries and especially the peoples of the Soviet Union gave too heavy a toll in the years of the Second World War, in the struggle against fascism and capitalism, to be able to afford the weakening of the defence of their socialist homeland, of world peace.

The economic blockade, the economic sanctions, the embargo, etc. used by the industrialized capitalist states, the USA in the first place, cannot upset the economy of the socialist countries, as Mr Reagan is imagining. These discriminatory measures indeed raise certain difficulties in our countries. But let no one harbour any illusions – the economy of existing socialism is capable of surmounting any embargo restrictions.

The policy of undermining economic, scientific and technological ties between the capitalist and the socialist countries is unrealistic. It is at variance with the trends of development of world economy. The internationalization of the economy, the intensification of the international division of labour and the unfolding revolution in science and technology objectively call for mutually beneficial cooperation.

That is why we shall work in the future too for expanding the relations and cooperation in the sphere of the economy, as well as in science and technology, culture, sports, etc.

In the third place, it is not without significance that in the current complicated political and economic international situa-

tion, the countries of existing socialism are successfully tackling the basic social problems of their peoples.

It is precisely socialism, such as it is being built in our countries, that realizes the fighters' centuries-old dreams of social justice, of a decent human life.

The exploitation of man by man has been done away with once and for all in the countries of existing socialism. The status of each and every person depends mainly on his labour, on his own contribution to increasing the wealth of society.

Existing socialism has guaranteed the *right to work* to all able-bodied citizens. Even in the early years of socialist industrialization and collectivization of agriculture, open as well as latent unemployment in its different forms were liquidated.

Under socialism employment, the organization and remuneration of labour have been freed from any *racial, sex, age and other forms of discrimination* whatsoever. Equal pay, an equal right to a leave, uniform terms of pensioning, etc. for equal work — this is one of the basic principles of socialist legislation and of the practical undertakings in the sphere of labour relations.

Socialism has opened *broad vistas to education and culture*, not only eliminating within a short historical period the illiteracy inherited from the past, but also considerably raising the people's education and cultural standards.

Free medical services for all members of society, the *right to rest and recreation*, the conditions provided for the *promotion of mass physical education, sport and hiking*, are great social achievements of existing socialism.

Means and forms are being sought in our countries, while pursuing undeviatingly a course of enhancing socialist democratism, of direct and representative democracy, for the broadest involvement of the working people in the management of the economy, in the guidance of culture and in the administration of the state.

Comrades,

Considering the place and role of the socialist countries in the contemporary world, we are bound to underline the importance of principle of the question of *the attitude to the Soviet Union*.

Georgi Dimitrov emphasized that the position of the Soviet Union in modern history is determined not by some subjective considerations and sentiments, but by objective reality and mainly by the fact that the Soviet Union was the initiator of socialism and the first one to realize it in practice in a vast country; by its exceptionally rich revolutionary experience; by its objectively crucial role in social progress, by the real support it renders to the revolutionary and democratic forces in the world.

According to our assessment this characteristic is valid today too.

You need not go too far back into history in order to be convinced of that. The CPSU, the Soviet government constantly furnish evidence of their adherence to the cause of peace, undertake steps, unilateral steps too, which strengthen trust and security in the world. The day before yesterday, on the first day of our conference, an event took place of an invaluable importance for the people's struggle against war: in a message sent by Comrade Leonid Brezhnev to the Second Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament, the USSR assumed the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

Now the others have the floor. Let us hope, that the USA and the other nuclear states would respond to that noble gesture. There is no doubt, however, that the news about the declaration of the Soviet Union will reverberate in the hearts of millions of people with the call of hope and will give another powerful impetus to the struggle for disarmament.

Our Party thinks that the participants in the theoretical conference dedicated to the centenary of the birth of the great fighter for peace Georgi Dimitrov, representatives of 140 communist, revolutionary-democratic and progressive parties, of international democratic organizations have a good reason to call on all peoples and all peace-loving forces in the world to support the Soviet initiative, to demand that all other nuclear states follow this example by pledging not to be the first to use nuclear weapons which would mean a virtual ban on their use.

It is mankind's supreme happiness that there is the Soviet Union — this giant in the socialist community which, with its high political prestige, inexhaustible economic potential, rich spiritual

life and invincible armed forces, is a reliable shield of the socialist community, of world peace.

In Dimitrov's time as well as now, we Bulgarian communists considered and consider that *the Soviet Union has been the main hope and bulwark, the banner of the peoples' great struggle for peace, freedom, democracy and communism.*

Comrades,

Are there hardships, weaknesses and problems in the development of the countries in which the socialist revolution has triumphed? Yes, there are, comrades. We are realists. We have hardships which are due to both objective and subjective causes. I have already dwelled on some of them.

Proceeding from the basic principles of our teaching, we look for the most felicitous solutions to the new problems unknown in history, and this is a complicated, difficult and contradictory process. Weaknesses are inevitable in this process, mistakes are also possible.

Unfortunately life has shown that not only weaknesses and mistakes are possible, but also such deviations from the Marxist-Leninist principles, such flagrant violations of the requirements of the social laws, which entail crisis situations and social conflicts, and in graver cases can even threaten the very achievements of socialism. This inevitably raises difficulties for the other socialist countries, for the whole international communist and workers' movement.

What is the main thing, however, which characterizes existing socialism? The main thing is that we are advancing, surmounting difficulties and weaknesses, successfully resolving the problems coming to a head, multiplying with every passing day the material and spiritual wealth of the new society in the interest of the people, of man.

At the present stage existing socialism has not yet attained our ideal, as charted by Marx, Engels and Lenin. It has not even completely manifested its advantages over capitalism yet.

This is a fact.

But it is also a fact that it is precisely this existing socialism and not any other, non-existent one, that is developing and improving, shedding its shortcomings; in this way it not only comes

closer to the ideal but represents its gradual specific historical materialization. It is impossible to work towards the ideal, while denying or belittling the real steps taken for its practical materialization.

It is on such a foundation that in the People's Republic of Bulgaria we rally the working people, tackle their problems, follow the road charted by Dimitrov.

Our socialist society has passed through important stages in its upward development. Georgi Dimitrov mapped out a programme for the stage of transition from capitalism to socialism. This was a great historical breakthrough in which tasks of cardinal importance were creatively solved. Now the times are different. We are building up a mature socialist society which sets before us, his followers, new problems. The Bulgaria of today is also different. Now it is an industrial-agrarian country developing at high and stable growth rates. Over the last decade alone we created, in economic terms, figuratively speaking, another new Bulgaria, a second Bulgaria, and have entered the 1980s with two Bulgarias. Notwithstanding the difficulties ensuing from the current adverse international political and economic situation, notwithstanding the weaknesses which we ourselves have allowed, we not only did not let the people's living standards drop, but on the contrary, they are rising.

New theoretical and practical problems crop up along the path of our development, which we endeavour to solve creatively.

We are building the material and technological basis of the developed socialist society using the peak achievements of the scientific and technical revolution. In this connection we are developing electronics, robotics, microprocessor equipment, biotechnologies, etc., and are proceeding to the introduction of broad automation and complex mechanization of production.

— We are pursuing a course of primarily intensive development of the economy and the other spheres of life of society, of increasing the effectiveness of production, its modernization, reconstruction, specialization and concentration in the entire national economy.

— We are translating into reality a new formulation about socialist ownership. In the future, too, the working people, in the

person of the state, will be the owner of the means of production, while the direct managers of socialist property are the work forces. This creates a situation new in principle for unfolding the activity and heightening the working people's interest in proper management and in increasing the results of their work.

— We are applying new practical approaches to planning and the socialist organization of labour. The state plan is a law, but it has been drafted to include a limited number of mandatory indicators. The rest of the indicators are specified through the counter-plans which are drafted by the work forces.

— We are improving the remuneration of labour on the basis of the socialist principle of the quantity and quality of the work done.

— We are further developing our political system and socialist democracy. The aim is to find still better solutions to the question of man's progress, of the all-round and effective self-realization of the individual, of promoting criticism and self-criticism as the motive power of our development, etc. The role of the public organizations and the bodies of state power is being enhanced. We are improving the socialist way of life.

I am pointing only to some of the new problems we are now tackling at the present stage. As in the past now, too, we are not dumbfounded by hardships and weaknesses, we are working and we shall work with the awareness of having devoted ourselves to the great cause in the name of the people and the future. Our people know that and support us.

In our all-round activity we rely on the great Marxist-Leninist teaching, we develop it creatively and apply it in accordance with the concrete conditions prevailing in the country, as Georgi Dimitrov did and required. The entire development of the international communist movement, and I would even add — the development of the world over the last decades, bears testimony to the fact that Marxism-Leninism is not a dogma, but an ever-living teaching which is constantly developing and being enriched. Lenin himself gave us a great example of a creative attitude towards the Marxist theory. But Lenin corrected some of the theses and inferences of Marx and Engels, developed further and enriched our theory in compliance with the new historical conditions not by disregarding Marx and Engels, not by

denouncing their cause, but by firmly basing himself on the positions of Marxism, on its theoretical principles, using skilfully its revolutionary methodology.

Historical experience has shown that in the contemporary conditions, too, we can develop our theory without disregarding Lenin, without denouncing him, but only by mastering creatively everything valuable and new which he added to the teaching of Marx and Engels, only by firmly standing on the positions of Marxism-Leninism.

We can ask ourselves, comrades, what the world would be like without existing socialism?

We are profoundly aware of *the historical responsibility* of the socialist community countries for the fate not only of the new social system but also for social progress in general, for the fate of human civilization. It is precisely for this reason that we are doing and will be doing our level best towards the support and unification of all forces in the struggle for the self-protection of the human race.

It is precisely for this reason that the protection of existing socialism should be the primary cause of all revolutionary and peace-loving forces.

Because, distinguished comrades, whether this is to the liking of some or not, at the present stage of human history existing socialism is the mainstay of peace and of social progress.

Comrades,

The analysis of contemporary reality, of the danger of a world nuclear war, of the forces waging a struggle for peace, makes us draw the following inference that:

— while during the 1930s the main threat for mankind was fascism, and Georgi Dimitrov defined the establishment of united popular anti-fascist fronts as the basic political line,

— at present, in the 1980s, the main danger for mankind is a thermo-nuclear holocaust, whose main bearer is US imperialism, and the task No 1 is to build up a common front of the anti-military, peace-loving forces, of all who understand that peaceful coexistence has no other rational alternative.

Herein lies the main difference between the 1930s and the present period. This determines also the difference in the ap-

proach, forms, goals and scope of action, valid for the 1930s and for the contemporary historical stage.

In our opinion, very important inferences can be drawn from this.

First of all, neither the existence of a common political platform nor the building up of some common structures heading the struggle against the nuclear threat, should be put as a condition for unity of action in the struggle for peace.

The movements for peace and disarmament should not necessarily be considered as an opposition against the government policy in a given country. They can include also statesmen and ruling circles, governments, concerned over the mounting tensions in the world, who have a stake in eliminating the threat of a nuclear holocaust.

The struggle should be directed against those circles which try to liquidate military parity existing between the East and the West, declare themselves against détente and the search for ways to ease international tension, pursue a policy of confrontation, of blockades and 'sanctions'.

It is of particular importance to create a propitious climate for a continuous East-West dialogue by enlisting the efforts of all people who have a stake in peace.

The forms of cooperation and unity of action between the heterogeneous anti-military forces are most diverse – starting from actions and campaigns coordinated in advance, forums to discuss and consider different problems, all the way to unidirectional actions which each organization or movement carries out independently. These activities differ in territorial scope – they are of world or regional, of national or local scale.

Obviously what is required from us is to show flexibility and creativity, to be able to operate with compromises in a Leninist, in a Dimitrovan way, to enlist and unite the allies and particularly the youth who of all mankind are most interested in peace. In the struggle for peace, against the thermo-nuclear danger there should be no hindrance to all parties, organizations, movements and individuals, aware of how big a threat for mankind a thermo-nuclear war would be, to find their place and play a befitting role in it.

As to our Party and country, I would like to assure you that we shall, in the future too, pursue a consistent policy of peace, understanding and cooperation in the Balkans, in Europe and in the world; our Party, our state and our society are doing and will be doing their level best for the success of the struggle for peace; we shall always be in the front ranks of the anti-military forces in the world.

Comrades,

Georgi Dimitrov was born on the eve of a century which history had assigned to be a watershed in the millennia-long development of mankind. This century has been marked by the Great October Socialist Revolution, by the triumph of the socialist ideas, by the victories of the international communist and workers' movement, of the progressive forces and movements in the world.

It is a supreme happiness to live and work in such a time. And we, the functionaries of the parties and movements who have dedicated ourselves to the struggles and goals of the working class, to the struggles and goals of the forces of progress and peace, know this best.

Naturally, we know also that this happiness is a happiness accompanied by difficulties.

We also know that the 20th century has witnessed the gravest, the most devastating dangers that have ever threatened the human race.

The 20th century also witnesses the threat of mankind's nuclear self-annihilation.

Naturally, this threat cannot discourage us. What is more, it multiplies our forces, steels our will, rallies our ranks. And I am confident that this conference, dedicated to one of the great strategists of the anti-war movement in the past, will contribute to our struggle for peace and detente, too.

This would be a befitting expression of our reverence for the personality and lifework of Georgi Dimitrov, a brilliant testimony of the non-transient significance of his ideas.

If Georgi Dimitrov were now among us, there is no doubt that with his characteristic power of persuasion and passion he would have called on us:

– to rally the militant ranks of the international communist and workers' movement;

— to strengthen the unity of action with the socialist, national revolutionary and democratic parties and movements;

— to strengthen our links with the masses and tirelessly to extend the front of the forces, working and fighting for peace, against war, for social progress.

I wish all of you, distinguished comrades, all your parties and movements fresh achievements in your difficult and noble work and struggle, new victories in the name of progress and peace, in the name of the peaceful future of our world.

Selected Works, Vol. 33, pp. 332-361

THERE EXIST REAL CONDITIONS FOR TURNING THE BALKANS INTO A NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE

*Statement
made at the press conference in Varna
before Bulgarian and Greek journalists
June 26, 1982*

We are extremely pleased with the visit paid to our country by the Prime Minister of neighbouring Greece. We are pleased above all with the results of this visit, with everything we have achieved in the discussions, in the assessment of the state and prospects for the development of bilateral relations and on a wide range of problems pertaining to the present-day international situation.

With Mr Papandreou we noted that a wide-ranging cooperation based on friendship is developing between our two countries and peoples. Credit for this goes to many state and political figures of both Greece and Bulgaria. I feel obliged to point out that our post-war cooperation and friendship started developing actively in 1964, when the great Greek statesman and world-famous politician, Georgios Papandreou was Prime Minister. It was then that a number of agreements were signed, which to this day provide a good, sound basis for the development of cooperation and friendship between our countries and peoples.

I feel obliged to point out also the great merit which my respected friend, Mr Konstantin Karamanlis, has in promoting this great cause.

My friends and I convinced ourselves yet again that Prime Minister Mr Papandreou is an ardent champion of the progress of Greek-Bulgarian relations. I would like to stress once again that in his person the Bulgarian people has a great friend.

An expression of the results of our talks in concrete terms was the accord reached on the development of bilateral relations in a number of areas. We have just signed a long-term agreement on the further development of economic cooperation between our two countries. You will understand that all that which we achieved in our talks on the bilateral issues paves the way for an even more fruitful stage in the development of Bulgarian-Greek relations and friendship.

As regards the cardinal problems which we discussed, characterized as being of utmost importance in the world's current development, I must say that our evaluations were either identical or similar. We could not fail to give considerable attention to the topmost problem of our time, the paramount issue of securing a lasting peace in the world. We could not fail to evaluate the current international situation as being extremely tense, with the arms race underlying this tension. We shall do our utmost for the promotion of détente, halting the arms race and for disarmament, nuclear disarmament in particular. Because there is no alternative for the world. In our talks with Mr Papandreou we ardently supported the idea of turning the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone. We are deeply convinced that the implementation of this idea here, on our peninsula, will be of great significance not only for the Balkans, but also for Europe and the rest of the world.

I would like to stress once again that we are extremely satisfied with the visit, with the talks, with the accords reached, and are deeply convinced that this visit to Bulgaria by Mr Papandreou marks a new chapter and provides fresh impulses for the development of this fruitful friendly cooperation.

All this is an expression of our common desire for peace and understanding in the Balkans, in Europe and in the world.

I wish to express my view and the view of my comrades from the delegation that in the future, as so far, our meetings with Mr Papandreou, either official or working ones, will always be as fruitful and proceed in a spirit of friendship and understanding, will be of great significance for the development of cooperation between our countries and peoples, and will contribute to our common efforts for peace and understanding in the Balkans and in the world.

We welcomed Mr Papandreou as a great friend of ours and it is also as a great friend that we are seeing him off now, wishing him a happy return back home and fresh successes in his noble work and endeavour for the flourishing of neighbouring Greece, for peace, détente, and understanding among countries and peoples.

Selected Works, Vol. 33, pp. 426-429

THE FRUITS OF THE DARING DREAM ARE RIPENING

*To the participants in the Second International Assembly
'Banner of Peace' – Sofia*

Dear young friends,
Distinguished guests,

I am happy to extend to you greetings on behalf of the Bulgarian people, of the State Council and the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and on my own behalf, on the occasion of the opening of the Second International Assembly 'Banner of Peace' – the assembly of friendship and *unity*, of daring and *creativity*, of the future and *beauty*.

The bright and noble ideas of the International Assembly 'Banner of Peace' possess a tremendous constructive and unifying force. They illumine the path for the ever questing human spirit towards the triumph of reason and harmony, towards the full-blooded development of the individual. They epitomize the striving and will of millions of people to build a new world, to see the dreams and hopes of mankind for a happy childhood and youth, for a peaceful and free future, come true.

The bright and noble ideas of the International Assembly 'Banner of Peace' find a broad international response. They have enjoyed ever growing support because they are imbued with sincere love of peace, an innovative charge, optimism and purposefulness, a high sense of responsibility for the future and launch a passionate appeal for communication and friendship among nations. Placing at the focus of attention the creative growth of the individual in all walks of life, the ideas of the Assembly demonstrated the need for creating conditions ensuring the right of every child, every young person, every human

being to live, to create, to develop and perfect themselves.

I am overjoyed that this remarkably humanitarian event is being held in the hospitable Bulgarian land, the country of the great Georgi Dimitrov; I am overjoyed that its hosts are the Bulgarian children and youths, the Bulgarian people.

Three years have passed since the holding of the First Assembly. It is, naturally, too early to speak of the significant results of that assembly, for the fruits of the pioneers' daring dreams are still ripening. But it is not too early to speak of the expanding territory of the Assembly, of the increasing numbers of young hearts and minds in which its ideas are finding a favourable soil.

You have arrived here from nearly a hundred countries. Few forums are so impressively representative, while for their nobility and vitality, for the opportunities they open up for the development and enrichment of the finest qualities of the young individual, the assembly and the movement 'Banner of Peace' are unique in the world. They have received the warm approval and immediate assistance of outstanding statesmen and politicians, public figures, men of science and culture all over the world who appreciate the importance of child and adolescent creativity and work to stimulate it in the deep awareness that creativity is a synonym of peace.

We, your fathers and mothers, your older brothers and sisters, have pinned our hopes upon your friendship as it holds the promise to become one of the important factors of friendship and understanding among countries and peoples tomorrow.

I am convinced that among you there are future creators and builders, public figures, statesmen and intellectuals who together with all progressive forces will construct the solid bridges of friendship and who, through their collective willpower and struggle, will dispel the danger of a destructive thermo-nuclear holocaust to replace it by trust and cooperation, so that peace might reign for ever on our beautiful planet – our common abode.

The field of creative endeavour which you have chosen and to which most of you will devote your life, is the true path that will lead you to unity and beauty. For he who creates is bound to

seek and find comrades and people who share his ideas. For he who creates is a fighter for a new world, a world of freedom, justice and beauty.

I am confident that the Second International Assembly 'Banner of Peace' will create fresh favourable prerequisites for creative communication and cooperation, that it will enrich the movement by new ideas, initiatives, events, and successes.

Young friends,

May the winged words of the Assembly's motto – 'Unity, Creativity, Beauty', become your guide for action in tearing down the barriers dividing countries and peoples, in mutual familiarization and understanding, cooperation and friendship!

Have faith in the future and try to build it with talent and inspiration!

Get ready by hard and creative work to welcome with honour the year 1985 – the International Year of the Youth!

Cherish in your hearts the high ideas of the International Assembly 'Banner of Peace'! May you always be warmed by the affection and friendship of the Bulgarian children and youths, of the whole Bulgarian people. Work tirelessly in your inspired creative endeavours in all fields of life! Dedicate yourselves to the struggle for peace and friendship among the peoples, against war and oppression, in the name of life, in the name of the progress of mankind!

August 15, 1982

Selected Works, Vol. 33, pp. 455-458

SOLIDARITY WITH THE STRUGGLE OF THE HEROIC PALESTINIAN PEOPLE

*To the Participants
in the International Conference on the Palestinian Problem
Geneva*

On behalf of the State Council and the government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, of the Bulgarian people and on my own behalf I extend most cordial greetings to the participants in the International Conference on the Palestinian Problem and wish them fruitful and useful work.

Irrespective of the will expressed unequivocally by the international community the Palestinian problem has not yet found its equitable solution. Through the fault of the policy of the imperialist forces and the actions of the Israeli ruling circles the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine continue to be trampled upon. This causes grave concern and alarm amidst the world public.

The government and the people of the People's Republic of Bulgaria condemn sharply the atrocities perpetrated by the Israeli occupiers and their puppets over the civilian Palestinian and Lebanese population, the monstrous cruelties against innocent children, women and old people, and at the same time express their deepest sympathies and solidarity with the heroic Palestinian people who suffered a heavy toll in precious human lives in the name of their ideal – a free and independent Palestinian state.

Faithful to its consistent and principled foreign policy the People's Republic of Bulgaria renders and will continue to render full support to the just struggle of the Arab people of Palestine for self-determination and national independence under the

leadership of its sole and legitimate representative — the Palestine Liberation Organization. Today more than ever before it is necessary to consolidate the Palestinian national unity, to strengthen Arab solidarity and concerted action in the struggle for the defence of the independence, sovereignty and the vital interests of the Arab peoples from the expansion of Israel and the neo-colonial policy of imperialism.

We condemn in no uncertain terms the policy of racism and genocide pursued against the Arab people of Palestine by the ruling circles of Israel, encouraged by their strategic ally without whose all-round support they could not have acted so insolently and provocatively. The criminal actions of the Israeli Zionists constitute not only a disregard of the UN Charter and the norms of international law in general. They exacerbate the tension in the Middle East, and pose a direct threat to peace and security in the world.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria most categorically rejects the attempts of the USA and Israel to 'settle' the Middle East issue by way of separatist deals of the Camp David type whose only goal is to perpetuate the results of the Israeli aggression, disregarding the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and establishing military and political domination of the USA and Israel in the Middle East.

The stance of our country on the Palestinian problem, in favour of a comprehensive and lasting settlement of the Middle East conflict, is well-known. Once again we call upon the international community to take quick and efficient measures for the complete withdrawal of Israel from all Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied in 1967 and after that, for recognition and materialization of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian Arab people, including its right to self-determination and the creation of an independent state of its own, for guaranteeing the peaceful and independent development of all states in the region. All these problems can be solved at an international conference on the Middle East with the participation of all countries concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Arab Palestinian people.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria attaches great importance to the UN activity for a comprehensive, equitable and lasting

solution of the Palestinian question and insists upon Israel being compelled to implement its decisions. We fully support the noble goals which the international conference has set itself for providing a broad support to the just cause of the Palestinian people and for mapping out efficient ways and means for the implementation of its inalienable rights on the basis of the decisions and resolutions of the UN.

Allow me to express our confidence that your authoritative international forum will make a real contribution to the struggle for the triumph of the just and humane Palestinian cause.

Sofia, August 31, 1983

Selected Works, Vol. 35, pp. 430-433

UNITED ACTIONS IN THE NAME OF PEACE – AN IMPERATIVE OF LIFE

Speech delivered at the International Trade Union Meeting and Dialogue 'Peace and the Trade Unions'

October 27, 1983

Distinguished friends and guests,
Comrades,

It was with pleasure that I accepted the invitation to attend the present meeting and dialogue on the cardinal problem of the present day – the safeguarding of peace.

I thank you for having assembled precisely here, in Bulgaria, in the name of a great and noble cause.

Our country is a small one, but there are no big and small countries in the struggle for peace. As you know Bulgaria and its capital have been associated with a number of international events in which the sincere desire of the Bulgarian people for peace, understanding and cooperation has been manifested.

It is with approval and support that the working people of the People's Republic of Bulgaria also welcome the International Trade Union Meeting and Dialogue 'Peace and the Trade Unions'.

We are pleased that the Bulgarian Trade Unions are the initiators of this prestigious forum. We acclaim this initiative and appreciate their aspiration to contribute to the rallying of the working class and the trade unions of all countries in the great battle waged by the peoples to avert a thermo-nuclear war.

The holding of the present meeting and dialogue shows that the world peace front is seeking and finding new efficient forms of manifestation and struggle.

You responded to the appeal for a constructive dialogue at an extremely difficult time, crucial for the fate of peace. It was a

common concern that made you assemble here, the concern of the working class, of the working people for the future of the world, the will of the trade unions to fulfil their class and humane duty.

According to us the importance of the Sofia meeting lies in the fact that trade unions of all continents of our planet are represented at it. Taking part in the meeting are representatives of the largest organization of the working class. I hope you will agree with me that, as the vital interests of this class are integrally linked with peace, so peace cannot be protected if the working class does not play its role of a basic anti-war force of our time.

Workers can win and they do win only provided they are organized and united. Such is the lesson from the history of working class struggles.

Your meeting, the dialogue which you have been holding in the course of three days is a testimony that the trade unions are aware of their responsibility in the struggle for safeguarding peace. This is the general, the main thing which makes the trade unions an important force in organizing the millions of working people in a broad anti-war front.

Distinguished friends,
Comrades,

The Bulgarian public is following your work with understandable interest. Today no one can be indifferent to the fate of peace. I for one, as far as I have been informed about your meeting, like very much the comradely spirit, the concerned and sincere tone of your discussion, your joining in the condemnation of the new aggressive act of the United States of America in Grenada. I would like to speak here in this same spirit and tone not only as a participant in your dialogue, but also as a former worker and trade union activist. I think that there is no need for my being specially introduced. All of you know who I am, what my ideas and political convictions are, as well as what is the social system and who are the allies of the state on whose behalf I am speaking.

Allow me to set forth in brief some considerations on the main problem you are discussing.

I have said on more than one occasion, but I would like to underscore before this forum likewise: *there is no other problem*

on which the fate, the well-being and the existence not only of individual classes, of individual peoples or regions, but of mankind as a whole, depend to such a degree as the problem of safeguarding and strengthening peace.

I believe that you will agree with me: peace today is a complex historical phenomenon. Peace is a universal human value, an expression of the aspirations of the people to free themselves once and for all of the horrors of war, of the moral and material damage it inflicts; severe ideological and class battles are being waged today in the name of peace; peace is also at the centre of contemporary international relations; lasting peace is an idea arousing and inspiring for struggle hundreds of millions of people. *Today it is not enough to speak about peace in most general terms; today we can and we should speak about peace in a universal human, in a class and in a political aspect, we can and we should consider peace in terms of a strategy of action and struggle.*

In its millennial history mankind has gone through many wars which have been the cause of incalculable disasters, loss of life and material damage. Despite this, heavy as these wounds were, the peoples mustered up their strength to heal them and march forward. But if a war should break out now mankind will not survive it. It will be the end of the human race and of its civilization.

Such is the merciless truth. The nuclear war will not distinguish between social systems and classes, between belligerents and non-belligerents. It will spare no one and nothing. I don't know, may be there are people who rely on a modern Noah's ark, which will help save, similar to the legend in the Bible, the human race and every living creature, this time from nuclear annihilation. Unfortunately, the human genius has not yet invented such an ark. Today it is clear to all of us that peace is the only alternative to global catastrophe.

Peace has yet another aspect. There are many and acute global problems – raw materials, energy, food supply, ecological, social and other problems. They can be solved with the concerted efforts of all peoples and states. The application of the advances of the revolution in science and technology opens up vast opportunities for achieving progress. But mankind will not be

able to get down to finding real solutions to these problems, to free itself from hunger and want, from the cultural backwardness still plaguing a number of peoples, unless it rids itself of the burden of the monstrous military expenditures which are senseless dissipation of intellectual and material resources.

All this makes peace a problem above all other problems and the concern for its safeguarding – a concern and responsibility of all.

Mankind needs not any kind of peace, it needs a lasting and just world peace. This is the overriding historical goal. For only just peace, peace which is built upon the recognition of the rights of the peoples and on respect of the basic principles of international law – equality and sovereignty, non-interference in other countries' internal affairs, mutual benefit in international relations, can be lasting peace.

It is only in the conditions of peace and peaceful cooperation that democracy can develop and strengthen, that human rights and the democratic freedoms of the people can develop.

Today the cause of peace is an illustrious embodiment of the humanism of our time, of the struggle for a new and more perfect world.

The period following World War II has shown that mankind of today can break the tragic regularity of the past, when peace was but a temporary respite between two consecutive wars, a pause necessary for the growth of a new sacrificial generation.

The continuous and persistent struggle of the peoples for a lasting peace during the '70s was crowned with considerable successes: détente became a prevailing trend; confrontation gave way to peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems; the danger of the breaking out of a nuclear missile war was remote. Undoubtedly these successes were the result of the concerted efforts of all those who sincerely aspired towards détente in international relations, towards understanding and cooperation. All this strengthened the hope of hundreds of millions of people that the nightmare of war would be driven away and the peaceful labour of the peoples for progress and social advancement would be guaranteed.

Notwithstanding the fluctuations and deviations, the '70s will go down in history as the decade which confirmed: *the peaceful*

settlement of international problems is possible in our epoch; peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems is necessary in our epoch.

As a leader of the Bulgarian state I can declare in a most responsible way that in its foreign policy activity the People's Republic of Bulgaria firmly adheres to the principles of peaceful coexistence and contributes, to the best of its ability, to the promotion of cooperation among the peoples, to strengthening peace in the whole world. Our efforts are directed, above all, to the Balkan region and this is quite natural. We are endeavouring and working towards strengthening and developing our good neighbourly relations with all Balkan peoples so that the situation in our region may be tranquil. I shall remind you of the fact that guided by that noble aim, we put forward from the rostrum of the Twelfth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party held two years ago, the proposal for signing a Code of good neighbourly relations with all Balkan states. I shall also refer to our proposal for turning the Balkans into a zone free from nuclear weapons.

Unfortunately, however on the threshold of the eighth decade of our century the international situation has sharply deteriorated. The cold winds of confrontation have started blowing again. Certain reactionary circles and forces have again staked on the policy from the position of strength whipping up their military preparations for the purpose of implementing that policy.

Distinguished participants in the meeting,

It is not only to us, the representatives of the working class, but to the broadest unbiased public circles as well that the *class causes, the class nature and the class purposes of militarism* are obvious.

The working class movement came into being on the old continent. In its infancy its first protest actions were directed against the machines being introduced into production. Growing in stature, both ideologically and as a class, the proletariat realized its delusion. It became ever more apparent who took advantage of technical progress, which social force harnessed nature and man to the interest of capital. With the blessing of that force colossal human and material resources are currently being

channelled into the creation of the most horrible of machines – the machines of destruction.

It is known that none other than the former American president Eisenhower in his farewell speech delivered on January 17, 1961, warned that the might of the military-industrial complex, of those who profited and amassed wealth from the production of military equipment could reach disastrous proportions.

Pursuing their selfish class ends and interests, today the military party of capital and the military-industrial complex stop at no moral or legal obstacles. They resort to any means, disregard the interests of the working class and of their own peoples, of their allies and partners, of all peoples and states.

We can make the following summary: *in our contemporary epoch the attitude to peace and war is the most immediate manifestation of the struggle between labour and capital in the international arena.*

The growing strength of militarism in the late '70s and early '80s is preconditioned by the qualitatively new phenomena in the general crisis of capitalism. The cyclic economic crises of the past decade, the latest of which began in 1980 and still continues, are radically different from the previous ones. Deep and sustained economic, social and political crisis processes coincide in time and intertwine in a single knot. They are characterized by being long and all-embracing, by a high rate of inflation and by unemployment turning from a cyclic one into a chronic mass unemployment. It is no accident that these crisis processes are compared to the Great Depression of the 1930s.

This is but one side of the question. The other side is how, in what way and by what means a way out of the crisis is being sought. I have no intention of belittling the efforts which are being made to overcome it. I cannot but point out, however, that the anti-crisis strategy of imperialism, as objective facts show, banks, above all, on the arms race.

Let us turn to facts. During the first half-year of 1983 industrial output in the zone of advanced capitalism grew by a mere one per cent in comparison with the preceding six months and was four per cent lower than the indicators for 1979. On the other hand, there was a steep rise in military production. For the same six months of 1983 arms manufacture increased by more

than eleven per cent. In the United States the military allocations went up by 20 per cent in fiscal year 1981-1982, and by a further 14 per cent in 1982-1983.

I would like to note that we, too, experience difficulties connected with the raw material and energy crisis. We make no secret of this. We are part of the world, of the world economy and trade, and what takes place in them inevitably affects us. Precisely for this reason we cannot be indifferent to the attempts at getting out of the crisis by further boosting the military-industrial complex and increasing its profits to the detriment of the millions of working people.

We support the position of the Bulgarian Trade Unions and are convinced that their struggle for peace is part of the common battle between labour and capital. It is our firm belief that when this struggle is waged against the arms race which some are trying to impose on us, it is simultaneously a battle for the most immediate defence of the working people of socialist Bulgaria.

Naturally, the problems in the international arena and in the world of capital are very complex and we do not put all things on the same plane. Among the numerous circles of the capitalist bourgeoisie we strictly differentiate between those who favour violence in international relations, military violence included, and those who take a realistic position on the question of peace and war, those who favour the development of international cooperation.

Esteemed friends,

We know that the main differences between capitalism and socialism cannot disappear spontaneously, and that each system will strive to prove its right to existence, its advantages. But according to us, all this does not demand that we should necessarily rush to nuclear bombs and missiles. The dispute between the two world systems can and must be conducted in the conditions of world peace, of peaceful coexistence and competition between states with different social systems.

In the conditions of modern scientific and technical revolution, given the existence of a tremendous destructive power of nuclear weapons and of vehicles for their rapid delivery across

great distances, *the political meaning of peace today lies in the strict and consistent observation of the principle of equality and equal security.*

The basis of equality and equal security nowadays is the military strategic balance primarily between the Soviet Union and the United States of America, between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO. It was this balance that opened up the way to the policy of détente, which, in turn, made possible the conference in Helsinki and the signing of the Final Act.

It is no secret that the existing military and strategic parity was achieved by the socialist community countries at the cost of great efforts and funds. For us, however, parity is not an end in itself. Our striving for parity is prompted by the essence of our military strategy which is defensive, yet rules out a military superiority on the part of someone else. For us parity is an objective condition for equitable negotiations, a condition which does not permit the holding of talks from the position of strength and the settling of ideological and political differences in state-to-state relations with the help of arms.

Now it is more clear than ever before that the urgent question facing all peoples, all political and public organizations and figures is that of *which path will international relations take?* This question requires a sober answer and nobody can avoid it.

The socialist community countries have time and again declared and proved that they are not seeking a unilateral military superiority. They, the socialist community countries, initiated: the proposal for signing an international convention banning the use of nuclear weapons once and for all; the programme for general and complete disarmament; the proposal for signing a treaty on the mutual non-use of military force and the maintenance of peaceful relations between the member-states of the Warsaw Treaty and of NATO. These principled clear-cut peace proposals are supplemented by many other important initiatives, such as: the undertaking by all nuclear states of the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons; the freezing of nuclear arsenals in quantitative and qualitative respects; a ban on the militarization of outer space and the use of force in outer space and from space to earth; the condemnation of the nuclear war as the gravest crime against mankind, as the grossest viola-

tion of the basic human right – the right to life. And so on and so forth.

Yesterday's interview of Comrade Yuri Andropov for the *Pravda* newspaper once again confirms the constructive and businesslike position of the Soviet Union in favour of the development of the Geneva negotiations on limiting medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe.

As you see we have held out a hand and wish that we be reciprocated in the name of security, in the name of the working man, in the name of life on our planet. Unfortunately this readiness of ours does not meet with a response. Instead of a clear answer to our initiatives that would correspond to the expectations of the peoples, we witness constant attempts at passing these initiatives over in silence or at denouncing them. The propaganda machine is in motion at full speed for the purpose of impressing on the public at large that the socialist community countries are next to stoking up a new spiral of the arms race. Particularly absurd is the assertion about a unilateral upsetting of the military and strategic balance resulting from the partial replacement of missiles of older systems by the so-called SS-20 missiles.

I do not intend to analyze in detail the motives and purposes of such a claim. I will only say that its uncritical acceptance, even by those sincerely fighting against the impending threat of war, can be explained by an inadequate understanding of the essence of parity.

Given the current state of science and its wide military-technical application, parity can be nothing but a dynamic quantity. Parity directly depends on changes in the quality of nuclear weapons. Notwithstanding our numerous proposals no accord on checking the qualitative improvement of these weapons has been reached so far. Therefore today parity has certain dimensions, which are not likely to be the same tomorrow.

I would like to be correctly understood. While pointing out the controversial and dynamic essence of the military-strategic balance, I by no means share the view that parity is to be established through an unremitting arms race. On the contrary, our countries, the socialist community countries have adopted a

radically different approach. We are in favour of freezing and, subsequently, reducing armaments – both nuclear and conventional, in favour of cutting down the funds used for armament. I would like to state explicitly: *we are in favour of parity at an ever lower level and quality of armaments*. In our view, this is the only way of consistently preparing the conditions also for a general and complete disarmament.

We cannot remain indifferent when the United States has allocated the colossal amount of 1,6 trillion dollars for armaments in the 1980-1985 period, while some 265,000 million dollars are to be spent for military purposes this year alone. The manufacture is envisaged of another 100 MX inter-continental missiles whose deployment will alter the general military-strategic setup. The idea is being imposed on us that the 'nuclear threshold' of armaments should be raised, thus also justifying the need of further improving the fighting strength of conventional weapons.

At present certain imperialist forces are waging an unprecedented ideological and psychological war against socialism. They are sowing among broad social strata a panic fear of communism, trying to instill in them anti-Sovietism and anti-communism, generally speaking – to lull their reason, to paralyze their will, to neutralize their social protest. It is these same forces that pursue a policy of discrimination in their economic and trade relations with the socialist countries.

The objective approach shows how erroneous it is to lay the blame for the buildup of tension equally on 'both sides', to speak of a 'Soviet threat' and of equal responsibility of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. In the long run, the stand of 'equidistance' is advantageous only to those who have a stake in the mounting of tension and is to the detriment of all who selflessly fight for the cause of peace.

Why is this so?

Because what we witness are not abstract talks and threats, but concrete steps towards disrupting the balance in international relations.

Particularly alarming are the moves to station new US missiles in Western Europe by the end of the year. Alarming, because parity and the foundations of peace and security – both

in Europe and in the world — are being undermined. And this will inevitably lead to an even more dangerous exacerbation of the international setup.

The new US missiles in Europe are weapons for a nuclear rout of socialism. They are medium-range, but figuratively speaking their political range is far greater, for they are instrumental in pursuing global political aims.

The new US missiles are a real means of dealing surprise and preemptive first nuclear strikes. It is notably these opportunities provided by them that determine the United States' stand and approach at the Geneva talks on limiting nuclear arms in Europe. Both the 'zero option' and the other US proposals actually mean unilateral disarmament of the Soviet Union. This is designed to shift the blame onto the Soviet Union, should the talks fail.

Under the present circumstances, the socialist countries are forced to take the necessary counter-measures for their defence. In line with an agreement among the governments of the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, preparations are starting for stationing complexes of missiles with operative-tactical functions. This is being done in response to the preparations for deploying the Pershing-2 ballistic missiles and the cruise long-range missiles in the West European NATO member-countries. That is one of the counter-measures to be taken should the new US missiles be deployed in Western Europe.

It is true that the counter-measures will necessitate additional expenditures which cannot but affect our socio-economic development plans. But it is no less true that there is no other way of maintaining the existing parity in armaments.

Yes, the US missiles are directly targeted on the socialist community countries. At the same time, however, they pose an immediate military threat to all European peoples as well. Their deployment will beyond doubt be used also to bring political pressure to bear in order to revise the territorial political realities established in Europe after World War II.

Taking an objective view of things, the new US missiles are aimed against the radical interests of the peoples in Western Europe themselves.

On a *political level* this implies: an offensive of the forces of reaction, of militarism and revanchism; restriction of the West European countries' independence in the solution of their own economic and political problems; deterioration of their relations with the socialist countries; renunciation of détente and peaceful coexistence.

On a *military political level* the deployment of the US missiles will make the West European peoples nuclear hostages.

On a *social level* this means for the West European countries new and bigger military budgets, giving a further militarist turn to their economies and — in the final count — bringing down the working people's living standards.

Distinguished trade union workers,

As it was pointed out here during the discussions, as elsewhere, the powerful wave of protest has seriously alarmed the strategists of nuclear confrontation. Dealing a deadly blow at the anti-war, anti-missile movement is an exceptionally important political goal of imperialism, of the circles associated with the military-industrial complex. Therefore they are already openly declaring that with the first US missiles to be installed in Western Europe, they will walk over the 'dead body' of that movement.

Therefore, the next point to which I would like to draw your attention, is the *struggle for peace as a long-term strategy of action*.

Proceeding to this question I will stress once again: the cause of peace is in serious danger.

Could we believe, however, that the war is inevitable? No! As the participants have pointed out in this discussion as well, *we believe that peace can and must be preserved and strengthened*.

Is our optimism justified?

Our optimism is justified because it is founded on objective factors.

First. The war, and moreover the world thermo-nuclear war, is not fatally inevitable owing to the *universal conviction that it will bring destruction to the whole of mankind*. True, in the complicated world of today there exist contradictions which bring about crises and conflicts. But we cannot fail to realize that

war is not the way to resolve crises and conflicts. Thermonuclear war is nothing but a means of suicide of all mankind.

Second. Détente has struck deep root in the life of the peoples and proved a promising trend, equally advantageous for all, in the development of international relations. Over the past decades the peoples, and most of all the European peoples, tasted the fruit of this beneficial process – the fruit of mutually advantageous cooperation in the different areas, particularly in the economic one. We fully share the assessment made by the leader of the Soviet state, Yuri Vladimirovich Andropov that ‘the 70s which passed under the sign of détente, were not, as claimed today by some imperialist figures, a chance episode in the hard history of mankind.’

Those who push the planet to a nuclear war are an insignificant minority. Their policy is anti-humane, at odds with the interests of both the working class and the other classes and strata, including also the properly understood interests of their own class. It is no mere chance that the realistically thinking politicians and statesmen in the West who stand for peaceful coexistence and settlement of controversial international issues by peaceful means, are growing in number and enjoying wider popularity.

We remember that the turn from ‘cold war’ to détente became possible, among other things, due to the standpoints and actions taken by the West European socialist and social-democratic parties. Today, too, we highly commend the realistic and constructive position taken by a number of outstanding members of those parties, and in many cases by the parties as a whole.

An expression of this realistic and constructive stand is the decision of the Labour Party in Great Britain against the nuclear rearmament of the country and the stationing of US cruise missiles. The NATO decision likewise met with opposition by the Socialist parties in the Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark and Norway. Strong anti-war sentiments are also in evidence in the other socialist and social-democratic parties, including the German Social-Democratic Party. The Scandinavian social-democratic parties support the idea of setting up a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe. The leader of the Swedish Social-

Democratic Party, Prime Minister Olof Palme proposed to set up in Central Europe a zone free from tactical nuclear weapons.

Third. The anti-war, anti-missile movement assumed an unprecedented scale. Representatives of practically all classes and social groups take part in all its spontaneous and ever broader campaigns. In the capitalist countries even representatives of the big bourgeoisie have joined it. The mass demonstrations, peace marches and other actions as well as the support the anti-war movements enjoy among the public, show the determination of millions of people to fight against the madness of the policy pushing the world to a thermo-nuclear disaster.

The role of the states which have liberated themselves from colonial oppression, and especially of the *Non-aligned Movement* is growing, too, in the common front of the fight for peace. Their peoples are becoming increasingly aware of the inter-relation between the attacks on détente, on the one hand, and the fanning up of military conflicts in the Middle East, in Southeast Asia, in Southern Africa, in Central America and the region of the Caribbean, on the other.

May I draw certain conclusions and state them before you?

The first conclusion is that the *fight for peace is now waged in the phase of an established military strategic balance between the two social systems*, when each has the necessary economic, scientific and technical potentialities to restore the balance in case it is unilaterally disrupted. Consequently, it is now not enough to fight for peace in general. *A qualitatively new political consciousness must be formed in millions upon millions of people*, by taking into consideration the historically established realities. Life itself imperatively demands to wage a struggle for maintaining the military strategic balance on an ever lower level, so as to come to general and complete disarmament. And this struggle must be an integral part of the struggle for a lasting and equitable peace.

The second conclusion is that the *forces actively participating in salvaging and strengthening peace, have been steadily growing*. The global scope of the thermo-nuclear disaster lends a global character to the fight for its prevention, too.

I believe you will share my view that exceptionally favourable opportunities are now at hand for forming a front of

peace, of anti-war forces and factors, and for constantly expanding its scale. This peace front could include, *from a class point of view*, the workers and peasants, the intelligentsia, the petty owners, the middle and a part of the big bourgeoisie; *from a political viewpoint* – the communists and socialists, agrarian, democratic, liberal and other parties and alliances, realistically-minded politicians and statesmen; *from the viewpoint of social movements and organizations* – the trade unions, youth and women's organizations, movements of environmentalists, of men of science and the arts, sportsmen, cultural unions and various clubs of people with similar interests, religious organizations; *from the viewpoint of states* – the socialist community, the developing countries, and the governments of a number of advanced capitalist states.

Indeed, the territorial range of the fight for peace varies: worldwide, regional, national. The social forces and popular movements taking part in this struggle, too, are varied. The essential thing is that both the working people the world over and the many parties and organizations of different character, regard the securing of peace as one of the main objectives in their activities.

Peace can be saved! To do this the collective efforts and good will of all peoples and countries, of all parties, organizations and movements, of all men, are required.

In the fight for peace the *working class has a historic role to play, and a historic responsibility*. I wish to express my conviction that each and every trade union worker, irrespective of his political beliefs, will live up to this responsibility. It is the imperative of life to rise above all differences and prejudices, to realize that we have common interests and responsibility, that above all else is the need for unification and unity of action in the name of peace and its salvation. There are possibilities for this, as shown by the present meeting and dialogue. It is our common duty to make use of this great political asset.

Esteemed friends and guests,
Comrades,

I thank you once again for coming to our country in order to

voice the will of the working class to fight for peace and to live in peace.

I wish you fresh major successes in your responsible work and struggle!

Thank you for your attention.

Selected Works, Vol. 35, pp. 497-519

CONCERN FOR THE DESTINIES OF MANKIND

*To the participants in the meeting of youth from the Balkan countries and Cyprus 'For Peace, Friendship and Cooperation, for Turning the Balkans into a Nuclear-Free Zone
Sofia*

Dear young friends,

I am happy to bid you welcome on Bulgarian soil and wish you great successes in the lofty struggle for eliminating the war danger, for turning the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear weapons, into a zone of peace, friendship and cooperation.

The world community is gravely alarmed over the international setup aggravated through the fault of the most reactionary and warmongering imperialist forces. The decision to deploy new American nuclear missiles on the territories of some West European countries is a step extremely dangerous for peace. The peoples have condemned this decision. A powerful anti-war movement has been launched against it and is now assuming unprecedented proportions in Europe and other regions of the world.

Today everyone of us is aware that there is no reasonable alternative to the nuclear catastrophe but peace. The cardinal issue of our time is the preservation and strengthening of peace. In our time it focusses all other social problems. The freedom, independence, well-being and social progress, the very existence of all the peoples and of all mankind depend on the solution of this problem.

Implementing the constructive, joint programme of the Warsaw Treaty member-states for strengthening peace and international security, the People's Republic of Bulgaria pursues a consistent policy aimed at removing the looming danger of a nuclear war. The numerous peace initiatives of the Soviet Union

and the other socialist community countries have been prompted by our sincere concern over the destinies of mankind, not by the desire to gain unilateral advantages. It is only on the basis of the principles of equality and equal security that a mutually acceptable agreement at the Geneva talks can be reached and the further stepping up of the arms race averted. We are confident that it is only by means of constructive negotiations that the tensions in international relations can be overcome.

At this crucial moment for mankind the Bulgarian people is a tireless champion of strengthening the relations of good neighbourliness and cooperation, of peace and friendship with all countries of our region. Well-known are our numerous initiatives aimed at the establishment of a climate of confidence in the Balkans. The People's Republic of Bulgaria has been genuinely striving and making continued efforts for understanding with the neighbouring countries, for concluding with them wide-ranging bilateral agreements, including a code of good neighbourly relations and envisaging the further expansion and deepening of cooperation in the sphere of economy, science, culture, etc. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is an active champion and initiator of the endeavour for turning the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear weapons. The implementation of this idea corresponds to the interests of all Balkan peoples and is to be a real contribution to strengthening peace and security in Europe and all over the world. We receive with interest and attention the initiatives advanced by other Balkan countries for the practical realization of the idea of nuclear-free Balkans.

Youth with its irresistible striving for unity, creativity and beauty has always been in the front ranks of peace champions, whose forces are steadily increasing. Your meeting, dedicated to the struggle for turning the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone, is a contribution in this great cause. It is a manifestation of the young people's resolve to participate actively in the struggle for peace and a happy future. The future belongs to you, the young people. It is therefore you who sustain to the greatest extent the harm by the arms race and mounting international tension. In the name of the common goal – the preservation of peace and life on earth – let us all of us, the representatives of different nations, generations and classes, people of different professions,

political convictions and fortunes — all join efforts. We share your will and determination and drive for a lasting peace and believe that peace can and must be preserved and strengthened.

I wish you, dear friends, representatives of the youth of the Balkan countries and Cyprus, a fruitful work and rewarding conclusion of your meeting for the triumph of peace, friendship and cooperation in the Balkans, in Europe and throughout the world!

October 30, 1983

Selected Works, Vol. 35, pp. 524-527

MAY SECURITY AND MUTUAL CONFIDENCE AMONG NATIONS GROW STRONGER

*Speech delivered at the official dinner for the United Nations Secretary
General Javier Perez de Cuellar in the Boyana Residence
February 27, 1984*

Distinguished Mr Secretary General,
Dear guests,

It is a particularly pleasant duty for me to greet you most cordially on behalf of the State Council, of the government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and on my own behalf. I take the liberty above all to express my deep gratification at your first official visit to this country because it affords us an opportunity not only to get to know one another but to have a fruitful exchange of views on the most topical issues which concern both us and hundreds of millions of people today. In you, I greet the man, the diplomat, the statesman who has won a tremendous international prestige through his vigorous activity in support of the cause of peace and international cooperation.

Mr Secretary General,

At the time the United Nations Organization came into being, the peoples, which had just rid themselves of the horrors of World War II, the most sanguinary war in mankind's history, were full of concern and determination to save themselves and the generations to come from disasters, conflicts, extermination and destruction. Today, nearly four decades after that historic event, our concern for peace is no less great, I would say it is even greater. We share your view, reflected in the annual report on the activity of the organization, that today more than ever before new collective efforts must be made for the solving of the vitally important problems affecting international peace, security and cooperation. Mankind today is on a fateful crossroads: whether

to pursue, impelled by the most militaristic and reactionary forces in the world, the path which leads to a destructive nuclear conflict, or to heed the voice of common sense and to prevent the destruction of its life and civilization. For us, I mean the Bulgarian people, the choice is categorical. We say 'No' to war and to confrontation, 'No' to the further aggravation of the situation, 'No' to the arms race, 'No' to the settlement of disputes from the position of strength.

I believe that you will agree with me, Mr Secretary General, that the situation here, on the European continent, has become particularly exacerbated of late. The deployment by the US of new nuclear missiles – against the will of the European peoples, has resulted in a drastic deterioration of the political climate, to a higher level of military confrontation and to an increase of the danger of a world nuclear war.

Naturally, the socialist countries cannot but take into account the attempts by the US and NATO to achieve military-strategic superiority. It goes without saying that they are compelled to take defensive counter measures. We have no right to disregard the interests of our security, nor shall we do so.

Still, even in the present grave international situation, we consider that possibilities exist and can be found for a serious, businesslike and productive discussion and solution of global problems, however acute and complicated they may be. Understandably, what is needed for this is not just readiness but a high sense of responsibility. Conditions for the expression of good will were created by the recently opened Stockholm conference. The proposals made by the socialist countries are aimed at building confidence and security among states, at the adoption of effective measures for disarmament and at strengthening peace in Europe and in the world.

At the present stage this requires above all that confidence between the states of the East and the West be restored and that effective steps be taken to reduce the danger of nuclear war and the level of military confrontation in Europe and in the world. We consider that the adoption of the initiatives advanced by the Warsaw Treaty member-states, more specifically of their proposal that nuclear states which have not done so should undertake not to be the first to use nuclear weapons and of their

proposal for the conclusion of a treaty on the non-use of military force and on the maintenance of peaceful relations between the member-states of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO, could become one of the first badly needed and eagerly desired steps in reducing tension in present-day international relations.

The hotbeds of tension in various parts of the world, for example, arouse serious concern in us, for these hotbeds may flare up, and this is particularly true of the situation in the Middle East, into war. These hotbeds of tension may become the detonator of a fatal nuclear holocaust. In our view, the United Nations Organization is called upon to contribute, and it can and must contribute, to eliminating every threat to peace, to foiling every act of aggression. According to the conception of the founders of the United Nations Organization, this presupposes an effective functioning of the Security Council as a body which bears the main responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. That is why we value highly the efforts of the United Nations Organization, of the Security Council and your personal efforts for the settlement of existing conflicts. But we also know who hinders and who blocks the taking of quick and effective measures by the Security Council for a just and lasting solution to controversial problems.

Mr Secretary General,

Today more than ever before mankind is called upon, and there is no doubt about it, to seek joint solutions to the global problems it is confronted with in its daily life: the conservation of the environment, the abolition of diseases, of hunger and poverty, the search for new energy sources, and so on and so forth. The restructuring of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis, a process in which the United Nations plays a major role and to which it can greatly contribute, would result in overcoming the backwardness of countries and whole continents, and in achieving socio-economic progress for the good of all peoples in the world. It is in this context that we support the developing countries' striving for building a new international economic order.

As a member of the United Nations Organization, the People's Republic of Bulgaria shows a deep understanding and sympathy for the efforts to solve all these problems because of its

own historical development as well. We recently celebrated the 13th centenary of the founding of the Bulgarian state and are now on the eve of marking another remarkable anniversary – the 40th anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution in our country. Thanks precisely to that victory and to the four decades of constructive and hard work that followed it Bulgaria overcame its backwardness and the social ills it entailed and achieved its present-day stable economic development, a high standard of living for the entire Bulgarian people, achievements which have been acknowledged both by our friends and by our ill-wishers.

The mentioning of this anniversary gives me reason to say that for four decades now socialist Bulgaria has been pursuing an active and consistent foreign policy based on the principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems and aimed at strengthening peace and security, at developing a broad mutually beneficial international cooperation in Europe and the rest of the world.

The implementation of the noble initiative of turning the Balkans into a nuclear weapon free zone is of exceptionally great importance for us now. I must note with gratification that this initiative has already been taken up and is the subject of discussion and of an exchange of views between the Balkan countries. We think that the main thing now is for the dialogue to be continued so that the positions may draw closer together and a general agreement in principle may be reached on the real establishment of such a zone. I shall recall that guided by the desire to strengthen peace and promote understanding between the Balkan peoples, we expressed readiness to sign agreements with our neighbouring countries that would include a code of good neighbourly relations. Such an undertaking will be in the interest of all Balkan and European nations and will be a real contribution to peace and security in the world.

I hope, Mr Secretary General, that you are convinced that through all its foreign policy activity the People's Republic of Bulgaria is trying and making efforts to contribute constantly to implementing the tasks and observing the principles and norms of the United Nations Charter.

Assessing highly the role and possibilities of the United Nations Organization in maintaining international peace and security, in curbing the arms race and achieving disarmament, in settling disputes by peaceful means, in developing cooperation in all spheres of international life, allow me to assure you once again, Mr Secretary General, that our People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue to contribute its constructive share to the activities of the United Nations Organization, will assist your personal efforts towards raising its effectiveness in line with its Charter.

I propose a toast to the health of the Secretary General of the United Nations Organization, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar;
to the health of all those present here;
to peace, security and prosperity of the peoples in the world.
Your health!

Selected Works, Vol. 35, pp. 685-691

THE CAUSE OF PEACE IS A SACRED DUTY

*To the participants in the 14th Congress of
the International Union of Students
Sofia April 11, 1984*

Dear young friends,

I am particularly glad to greet you, on behalf of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and on my own behalf, and to wish you successful and fruitful work at the 14th Congress of the International Union of Students. The fact that it is being held in our country is a high honour and a token of trust in the youth of socialist Bulgaria.

I have been following the activities of the International Union of Students since its establishment, when it raised the banner of progressive and democratic student youth. With its consistent struggle for consolidation of the anti-imperialist unity of students' organizations and of youth, for the democratization of higher education, in defense of the students' vital rights and interests, your union has stood the test of the dynamic and complicated times we live in. This is evidenced by its increased role and prestige, its maturity and ability to enhance the participation of progressive students in the struggle for peace and democracy.

We cannot fail to note the gratifying fact that present in this hall are also representatives of a wide range of unions of different political and ideological orientation and activists of a number of students' and youth peace movements — a fact which will undoubtedly help consolidate world youth's cooperation and joint activity.

Dear friends,

Youth is a synonym of pure and inspired impulses, of optimism and faith, of readiness for struggle, work and creativity in the name of the brightest human ideals.

You friends are at the start of your life's career; the would-be scientists and specialists, you are now mastering the fundamentals of knowledge and are preparing yourselves to devote your energies to mankind's material and spiritual progress, to the well-being of your peoples. For your personal progress, the advance of your peoples, and for the progress of human civilization all of us need a lasting and just peace.

But is it peace or war that mankind is being led to by the course of developing and stockpiling new mass destruction weapons, by the policy of overt militarism, aggression and nuclear blackmail?

Is it the cause of peace and security of the peoples, or war that the deployment of new US nuclear missiles in some West European countries serves?

Is it the planet's peaceful future, or the annihilation of life on earth, that the imperialist plans of turning space into a military springboard are aimed at?

Confrontation and the plans of settling ideological and political differences in inter-state relations by means of arms serve war, and not peace. The peaceful co-existence among peoples is the sole alternative to thermo-nuclear war. It is only the peaceful co-existence that corresponds to the interests of all states and peoples, to the vital interests of youth all over the world.

The socialist community countries, including the People's Republic of Bulgaria deem it their supreme foreign-policy task to safeguard world peace. They not only have a comprehensive and constructive peace programme, but also work and fight consistently and steadfastly for improving international climate and averting nuclear war. Testifying to these countries' constructive approach are their proposals advanced at the Stockholm conference as well.

The peoples want peace and not war. The peoples yearn for material and cultural advance, and not for an exhausting arms race. It is only in the conditions of peace that mankind can solve the difficult and vital problems pertaining to backwardness, famine and unemployment, illiteracy and illnesses, to the shortage of natural resources and environmental protection.

The global nature of thermo-nuclear catastrophe renders global the struggle for its prevention. The work for peace is a

sacred human duty of all honest people on earth. Today favourable opportunities are at hand for the establishment of the broadest possible peace front. Anti-war forces and figures from different classes and social groups, with different education and outlook, leaders and governments, all who have a stake in removing the danger of a nuclear catastrophe can join this front *en masse* and on an equal footing. Youth organizations and movements also can and must take their befitting place in the peace struggle.

We are convinced that the Twelfth World Festival of Youth and Students to be held in Moscow in 1985 will be a vivid manifestation of the desire of the planet's young generation to live in peace and friendship and will significantly contribute to consolidating the anti-imperialist and anti-war youth and students' front.

Dear friends,

We, the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Bulgarian socialist state, the older generations, have profound faith in our youth. We rely on it and do our best to provide all conditions necessary for it to study, work and create in order to take its befitting place in life.

You have already experienced the cordiality and warmth of the Bulgarian students and the entire Bulgarian youth. I can assure you that the youth and students of the People's Republic of Bulgaria who cherish the ideals of peace and friendship, of amicability and anti-imperialist solidarity will in the future too be with you in your struggle for a more just and peaceful world.

I would like once again to greet all of you, participants and guests of the 14th Congress of the International Union of Students and to wish you fresh successes in your noble work for rallying young people to the ideals of freedom, democracy and social progress.

Good luck, young friends!

Rabotnichesko Delo
April 12, 1984

AN ADDRESS TO THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE INTERNATIONAL MEETING DIALOGUE 'PEACE – AN INVARIABLE CONDITION FOR SOCIAL PROGRESS OF THE PEOPLES'

September 5, 1984

Distinguished friends,
Comrades,

On behalf of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and on my behalf please accept most cordial greetings and wishes for fruitful work of the international meeting-dialogue 'Peace – An Invariable Condition for Social Progress of the Peoples'.

Your meeting-dialogue takes place in a complicated and tense international setup. Today more than ever before the political parties and public movements, all progressive forces face the problem of preserving peace.

Our people highly assess your forum, which is attended, at the invitation of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party, by eminent representatives of peasant and other kindred parties, organizations and movements from all continents. We are convinced that the meeting-dialogue will leave a lasting trace in the life of the international agrarian movement, and will be an important manifestation on the part of the democratic public in the struggle for peace.

The problem that you are about to discuss, is extremely topical. The planet's peaceful future is an indispensable condition not only for man's survival, but for the economic, social, political and cultural advancement of all peoples, too.

Stockpiling of weapons becomes an ever greater obstacle in solving mankind's global problems: overcoming economic backwardness, conservation of the environment, feeding the

growing population, etc. The arms race generates instability in international economic relations, hampers their restructuring on a just and democratic basis free of discrimination, diktat, and exploitation, impedes the establishment of a new international economic order.

We fully share the anxiety that the arms race spurred on by the USA and its NATO allies devours colossal material, human and intellectual resources. Actually this is what increases the economic difficulties that many countries now experience. Imperialist policies doom a considerable part of the population to famine and diseases, deprives hundreds of millions of people of elementary medical care and education. The forces of imperialism and reaction are trying to check social progress, to stifle the peoples' struggle for freedom, independence and human rights.

I want to assure you, dear friends, that the People's Republic of Bulgaria together with the other states – members of the Warsaw Treaty and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance is making constant efforts to surmount tension in international relations and to bring back détente. We are guided by the understanding that in the world of today, given the existence of weapons for mass destruction, relations between states with differing social systems have no alternative other than peaceful coexistence. The peoples' vital interests require an honest dialogue and the reaching of agreements abiding by the principle of equality and equal security.

Our country energetically supports all initiatives that truly serve the cause of peace. We believe that the proposals put forward by the Warsaw Treaty countries for the nuclear states to undertake the obligation not to be the first to use thermo-nuclear weapons, for a treaty to be concluded on non-use of military force and for maintenance of peaceful relations between the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO, for immediately starting negotiations on preventing the militarization of outer space, also serve this cause. I will remind you that we also stand for freeing Europe from intermediary and tactical nuclear weaponry, for prohibiting and abolishing chemical weapons, for freezing and reducing military expenditures, for setting up nuclear weapon free zones in various parts of the world.

It is common knowledge that the People's Republic of Bulgaria attaches great importance to consolidating good neighbourly relations among the Balkan countries and peoples. We will as heretofore conduct a policy of peace and understanding, friendship and cooperation, and will fight for turning the Balkans into a zone free from nuclear weapons.

I would like to share with you our firm conviction that the sinister schemings of warmongers can be foiled. Powerful anti-war movements are now gaining momentum, a broad peace front is being established. Its strength is decisive, for it encompasses the socialist community countries, the movements of all democratic strata and organizations, the non-aligned movement, the national liberation movements and the sober-minded politicians, statesmen and public figures in the capitalist countries. This is what makes us optimistic as does also your meeting.

Dear friends,

We are glad that you responded to the invitation of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party which is taking an active part in the construction of the new society and is contributing to the struggle of our people for peace, understanding and cooperation.

We are glad that the meeting-dialogue in Varna is held on the eve of our grandest and brightest national holiday – the victory of the socialist revolution.

I am convinced that your stay in our country will enable you to feel the pride our people take in what has been achieved in the four decades of free creative labour, to be convinced in its sincere love of peace.

I wholeheartedly wish every success to the international meeting-dialogue 'Peace – an Invariable Condition for Social Progress of the Peoples!'

Rabotnichesko Delo
September 6, 1984

A GREAT DAY FOR BULGARIA

*Speech
at the ceremonial session
to commemorate the 40th anniversary
of the victory of the Ninth of September
Socialist Revolution in Bulgaria
Sofia, September 8, 1984*

Distinguished comrades,
Dear guests,
Dear compatriots,

There are great dates in the history of every country. These dates stand out as peaks of national upsurge, and on them flies the flag, calling out with the legend: liberty or death! And regardless of whether they bring dear freedom or heroic death, they shine out on the peoples' long and difficult road to happiness and progress. Indeed, there are great days that bring tragedy, when the people's wrath seeks and fails to shake off its bondage. But there are also days on which the people finally achieves the exultation of that long-awaited liberty it has so thirsted after and sacrificed so much blood for.

Such a great day for Bulgaria is the Ninth of September 1944, whose 40th anniversary we are now celebrating.

Decades will pass, centuries will go by, future generations will live in our beloved land in even greater happiness, but the year of the Ninth of September Socialist Revolution shall remain proudly inscribed on the crest of the Bulgarian state, together with the date of its foundation as one of the two historic pillars on which Bulgaria's existence and progress, power and glory stand.

Today's generations of Bulgarians are fortunate. We live at the beginning, at the sources of liberty. We are not only living witnesses to, but also the first creators of freedom. We are the first builders and protectors of the free life. We will bequeath to

those who follow us a Bulgaria no longer divided into oppressors and masses deprived of rights, but one which strides on its path united and strong as never before.

At the foundations of this Bulgaria lie the bones of the heroes who immortalized the Ninth of September 1944 through their death. On these days of celebration we again lower our flags, the same flags under which they fought and perished. This is not just a ritual, but a small part of the debt of the living to the dead, a debt that can never be paid in full — for the fact that we are alive, free, working and building for ourselves, our children and our people.

Four times our people rose up in arms against the monarchy and the mercenary Bulgarian bourgeoisie; thousands of strikes and bitter clashes while the Party was working deep underground after 1923; tens of thousands of partisans and helpers; political prisoners and concentration camp inmates; tens of thousands murdered, shot, hanged or dead on the battlefields of the Patriotic War. That is the price paid for the people's liberty by the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Workers' Youth League, the left-wing forces of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party, democratic circles in other organizations and movements, the patriotic forces united under the banner of the Fatherland Front. That is the irredeemable price paid by all those whose only guilt was that they loved Bulgaria and their people.

Let us bow deeply to the self-sacrifice of the heroes who laid down their lives in decades of struggle for the people's freedom, for socialism and communism! Their names shall live on forever in our hearts and in our memories, in the names of villages and towns, streets and squares, factories and farms, in the names of schools and community centres, of youth and workers' brigades — in all that makes socialist Bulgaria progress and grow beautiful.

Let us bow deeply to the living veterans of the revolution, who stood side by side with those who perished, who went through the ordeal of prison and concentration camp, partisan units and underground lodgings, who followed the roads of the Patriotic War and lived to see the dawn of freedom and the present day, to give everything they could to build the new life!

Let us bow deeply and gratefully to the exploits of the generations who took up our faith and our cause, and who, together with us, have within four decades raised the banner of socialist Bulgaria so high that it can be seen by all the world!

It is a historical fact that not a single Soviet soldier fell to a Bulgarian bullet. But those whom we welcomed as brothers and liberators and their comrades-in-arms had fought and died on the soil of Russia, the Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Baltic lands, and so fought and died for us, for our freedom.

We express our deepest fraternal gratitude and appreciation to the invincible Soviet Army, with whose decisive aid we won our freedom, to the sons and daughters of the Soviet Union! As our forefathers never forgot the exploits of their forefathers, so socialist Bulgaria shall never forget their exploits, ever!

Comrades,

What was that glorious struggle for? 'For crown of gold, for some false fetish?' For the formal freedom of bourgeois democracy?

No, comrades! We had that freedom before – in bits and pieces, and in 'good' years even in full. That 'freedom' was not worth shedding blood or sweat for. It was for something else that all of us who waged the mortal struggle against the Bulgarian bourgeoisie fought, it was for something else that our people rose in arms on the Ninth of September 1944. The Ninth of September Revolution was not bourgeois democratic, but socialist, it was a continuation under different conditions of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia.

Sometimes we are surprised that our children cannot visualize the grinding poverty of yesterday's Bulgaria. But what can we expect from them when a whole epoch lies between our country's yesterday and today?

In four decades Bulgaria radically changed her appearance. Industrial and agricultural, green and fertile, united and rich, our small land is now a paradise, an example, a land to envy! In this land socialism has been victorious once and for all, irreversibly. In this land of ours lives and grows a people without oppression, without exploitation, without unemployment, under conditions of social justice; a people lives and creates with strong moral and political unity around the Bulgarian Communist Party's general

line and policy of April 1956. Inspired by the great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, our people has entered a decisive period of building developed socialism. And no unprejudiced person can fail to see that the society we have created is the highest peak in the thirteen-century history of Bulgaria.

Our national economy is firmly established. It has a vast material base. At the end of 1983 the country had a basic fixed capital of almost 95,000 million leva. The dynamics of our socialist economy's development are both high and steady. An average annual national income growth rate of 7.6 per cent has been recorded for the past thirty-five year period. Bulgaria takes an active part in the international division of labour. She has economic and commercial ties with 116 countries. Last year her foreign trade reached the impressive figure of almost 24,000 million currency leva.

Today industry plays a leading role in our economy. In less than three days it produces an amount equivalent to the total output of the pre-war year of 1939. Today industry generates about 68 per cent of the gross national product and about 57 per cent of the country's national income. Its character is determined by those sectors that spearhead techno-scientific progress: electronics and electrical engineering, mechanical engineering, industrial chemistry, metallurgy and power engineering. These sectors account for over 40 per cent of total industrial production. We have also made great achievements in the light and food industries, in transport and construction, in communications and in trade.

In parallel with the mighty development of industry, revolutionary transformations also occurred in agriculture. We creatively applied Lenin's cooperative plan by setting up cooperative farms. After the April 1956 Plenum of the CC of the BCP, we established powerful, large-scale agro-industrial complexes by consistently merging the agricultural organizations and concentrating and specializing agricultural production and integrating it with industry. Now, with less than one-third of the agricultural workers employed in the branch compared to 1939, it produces three times as much as it did then.

Care for man is a constant and major concern of the Bulgarian Communist Party, of our society. Conditions have

been provided for all our people to exercise their right to work, free education and medical care, to benefit from social security, to have wide access to scientific and cultural wealth. The working people enjoy a growing prosperity. Despite the complicated international situation the December 1972 social programme is being successfully implemented.

The continual development of direct and representative democracy creates ever greater real possibilities for the active participation of every citizen in socio-political life, in the management of the economy and the state. The socialist power of the people gave birth to and established the public-state and state-public principle — a discovery of long-term importance for the development of the political superstructure, for the clear-cut trend of continuing evolution of the state under socialism into an all people's state.

Our greatest achievement is the formation of the new socialist man, a worker in the material and cultural field, a personality with a high sense of patriotism and civic duty, a creative and daring personality. This personality, this new man with his knowledge and gifts, political involvement, high ideological and moral virtues and willpower is the builder of today's and tomorrow's Bulgaria.

Pursuit of education and knowledge has always been an inherent trait of our people. But it was in socialist Bulgaria that the popular talent flourished in all its beauty.

From a country where every third citizen was illiterate, Bulgaria has now become a country on the way to universal secondary education.

Bulgarian science penetrates deeper and deeper into material and intellectual production, becoming a major force in the development of techno-scientific progress, of social management and of man himself.

The great upsurge of Bulgarian culture is spoken of with sincere respect at home and abroad. Our socialist culture is an heir to and a worthy continuator of National Revival, revolutionary democratic and class proletarian traditions.

We are proud of the achievements of our great poets, writers, scientists, artists and actors, composers, singers and musicians, engineers and architects. We are pleased with our amateur arts.

Whose heart does not thrill with patriotic emotion when our ensembles make triumphant tours around the world and arouse admiration for Bulgarian songs, dances and costumes? Can any one of us not be proud of our children who associate so well with the children of the world at the 'Banner of Peace' assemblies and whose ardent love of peace and creativity are an example for adults to follow?

We do all we can for the younger generation in this country to grow up not only intelligent and cultured, but also healthy, strong and beautiful. This year's Spartakiade was yet another confirmation of our successes in physical education and sports. Here, as everywhere else, there is still much to be desired. But how could one not admire the achievements of our valiant weight-lifters and wrestlers or of our athletes? Is there a Bulgarian who is not proud of our 'golden girls' in rhythmic gymnastics, or of the feat of the mountaineers who conquered the world's highest peak, Mount Everest?

Consistently loyal to proletarian and socialist internationalism, a staunch fighter for peace and security, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the country that gave birth to and nurtured the memorable Georgi Dimitrov, deservingly enjoys high international prestige. Everywhere in the world men of good will associate her name with a people unswervingly and confidently marching along the road to socialism, developing its economy and culture, a people tirelessly working and struggling for peace and friendship in the world.

That is the Bulgaria we fought for!

That is the Bulgaria we have built!

Comrades,

To what are our successes, acknowledged by both friends and ill-wishers, due?

Our successes are above all due to several basic factors and I believe everyone knows what they are.

The first basic factor is the deep conviction of the Bulgarian people that only under socialist conditions can it find fulfilment and attain its age-old aspirations. Our people has admirable qualities. Thanks to them it has survived at this fatal crossroads throughout the turbulent centuries. The years of socialist renewal have enriched and developed its traditions, traits and virtues on a

new basis, the basis of collectivism and socialist humanism, and have created new ones. Socialism strengthened the historical optimism of the Bulgarian and turned his patriotism and internationalism, love of labour and constant sense of dissatisfaction with what he has achieved into a powerful lever of our development.

Regrettably, parasites still exist in our day. They find loopholes and crevices in the society we are building and, to be honest, sometimes they thrive well among us. But can we reproach our whole people, particularly our younger generation, just because of them? The power that builds modern plants and operates them, that makes the land bear and creates that great entity known as socialist Bulgaria, this power is the heroic Bulgarian working people, its wonderful younger generation. Such a people could move mountains, such a people is today successfully building a developed socialist society in a country that forty years ago dragged itself along behind the rest of Europe. Such a people, maker of its own destiny, will also build communism!

Let us pay deep filial homage to the Bulgarian people, to its faith in the Party and in the communist future of its homeland! Let us honour the united heroic labour of our working class, of the agricultural workers and of the people's intelligentsia!

The second basic factor for our successes since the Ninth of September 1944 has been the Bulgarian Communist Party. It is the leading political force in our country by virtue of its ideas, by virtue of the blood it has shed, by virtue of its historically tested ability to lead our people.

Everything that our people has achieved over these years has been achieved under the leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party. It has shown the way; it has inspired, organized and led our people. The communists were in the front ranks of the struggle, where it was most difficult. Keeping sacred the traditions bequeathed to it by Blagoev and Dimitrov, the Party overcame the personality cult practices and restored the Leninist principles of Party life and leadership. It elaborated the course of completing the transitional period and of building a mature socialist society in this country. Throughout those years the Bulgarian Communist Party grew even more as a party of creative Marxism-Leninism, able to discover the new on time

and to part with outdated views and ways of acting, to link the achievements of theoretical thought to concrete practice, to educate, inspire and mobilize the people to carry out new tasks.

The Bulgarian Trade Unions, the Dimitrov Komsomol, the Fatherland Front and the other public organizations and movements think and act in unity with the Party. The Party's friendship and unity of action with the fraternal Bulgarian Agrarian Party are firmly built into our successes.

The gradual transformation of the Communist Party from a political vanguard of the working class into a party of the entire people is a major achievement of the political line of April 1956. Today the cause of the Bulgarian Communist Party is the cause of millions!

The third basic factor for our successes is our membership of the world socialist system, our friendship and cooperation with the countries of the socialist community and above all with our great brother and ally, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. We shall never forget the first days of freedom when starving, plundered Bulgaria turned for help to none but the war-harrowed, but victorious, Soviet people! And we got that help!

For century after century, Russia and the Russian people were our faith and hope. The victory of the Ninth of September was the great coming together of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union. For forty years now the Soviet Union has been our bulwark in the building of socialism, on Bulgaria's road to communism. In the years that have passed and particularly as a result of the joint course of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the CPSU for all-round cooperation and closeness between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union, our countries have so fused that no power on earth can separate them.

Our achievements are inseparable from the overall consolidation and advance of the world socialist system — the leading revolutionary force of our time. I cannot fail to make note here of the latest meeting of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, the recent summit conference in Moscow. We now have a new long-term strategy of action answering both the interests of each country and the interests of socialism as a whole.

Our achievements are most directly related to the ability of the socialist community to defend the gains and guarantee the

freedom, peace and security of our countries and peoples, to the indestructibility of the Warsaw Treaty. In the late twentieth century, when mankind is living under the threat of nuclear war, 'the main and decisive force able to bridle the adventurists', as the General Secretary of the CC of the CPSU and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Comrade Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko rightly stated, 'is the economic and defence might of the socialist community, the strength of the alliance of fraternal countries, their unity of action.'

The fourth basic factor is the invariable solidarity and support rendered us by the world revolutionary movement, by all progressive humanity.

Our struggle for socialism and our achievements are inseparable from the struggle of the international communist and workers' movement, as they are inseparable from the struggle of the peoples for national freedom, for democracy and social progress, for peace. As a people building socialism we are strong with the strength of the world revolutionary movement, with the strength of progressive humanity.

Comrades,

The April 1956 line of the Bulgarian Communist Party is a line of creative approach to the general regularities of socialist construction. At its Twelfth Congress and after it our Party did a vast amount of theoretical and practical work, which enriched our overall conception of mature socialism and its construction. The Congress defined the course of nationwide intensification as our strategic course. We have worked out the new economic approach and its mechanism. We have given a substantiated answer to the fundamental issues of the owner and master of social property, of the operation of the law of value and of the use of commodity-money relations under socialism. We have elucidated the principal issues of building a material and technical base adequate to mature socialism, of the approach to social policy and further raising the people's living standards, and of promoting socialist democracy. The improvement of quality has become a key issue in our development.

Now, more than ever before, we need a revolutionary turn-about in our way of thinking. We need a revolutionary turn-about in the approach and actions, we need conscientiousness

and discipline, creativity in the day-to-day work of each and every one of us!

We Bulgarians are one of the nations which bear the great responsibility before mankind for socialism, for its dynamism and viability, for its attractiveness. And today there is no greater responsibility than that!

Comrades,

For several years now we have witnessed an alarming and persistent growth of tension in international relations. By a frenzied arms race the imperialists and above all the American imperialists are striving to attain military-strategic and political superiority over the countries of existing socialism, and are preparing for a third world war. They are waging a psychological war and are ruthlessly interfering in the internal affairs of sovereign states and peoples. They are proceeding also to practical steps for the militarization of outer space. The US is shifting the centre of its military efforts onto the borders of the socialist community, onto the European continent where both world wars were started. Anti-communism is pervading its policy in all spheres, ranging from diplomacy to sports.

The consolidation of the socialist system and the attainment of approximate parity in the two systems' armaments is an enormous acquisition that guarantees the survival of modern mankind. Inestimable credit for this is due above all to the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the Soviet people. Military parity is a historical fact and we shall never allow it to be disturbed. As has been repeatedly and responsibly stated, the Warsaw Treaty countries do not seek military advantages. Furthermore, we are prepared to negotiate on the reduction of the arms level and to gradually achieve complete disarmament. We are prepared to proceed with the elaboration and endorsement of such a code of East-West relations, of relations between the socialist and the capitalist states, as will eliminate for ever the danger of a world military conflict.

Despite the extremely dangerous exacerbation of the international situation, we remain optimistic. The future belongs to the lovers of peace, the anti-war front. It is above all we, the socialist community countries, that provide the guarantees to this effect. A guarantee for this is the anti-imperialist struggle waged by the peoples, by the international communist and

workers' movement, by the movement of non-aligned countries, by the national liberation movements, by fighters for peace within the capitalist countries, by the sober-minded politicians, statesmen and public figures, by all people who cherish peace.

True to its socialist ideals, to its peace-loving Leninist foreign policy, and firmly safeguarding its socialist gains, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, together with all fraternal countries, is in the vanguard of the struggle for peace and cooperation.

By force of its geographical location the People's Republic of Bulgaria will in the future continue to accord the highest priority to the strengthening of peace and security in the Balkans. We welcome the positive changes that have come about in the political climate of our peninsula. Instances of good neighbourly relations and cooperation are multiplying, our mutual will to work for turning the region of the Balkans into a region and factor of European and world peace is growing. An extremely important step in this direction, as we have pointed out on other occasions would be the turning of the Balkan Peninsula into a nuclear weapon free zone.

Dear comrades,

Dear compatriots,

Have there been difficulties on our road? Yes, there have. There have been difficulties, weaknesses and errors. We are all well aware of it. Our wise people says that he who does not work, does not err. On this solemn day of historical summing up we can say: notwithstanding the objective and subjective difficulties, our people is confidently building the society which has been the dream of its most illustrious minds, the society we fought for and for which the free working people of socialist Bulgaria now live and work.

The achievements of the four decades since the victory of the Ninth of September Socialist Revolution is a telling confirmation of the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist teaching in the practice of our Party and our socialist state, it is its triumph in life.

We are guided along our road, the salutary road of communism and will invariably be guided by the radiant star of the victory of the Ninth of September, we are inspired, and will always be inspired by the cause and example of our forefathers – the

heroes of the revolution, those who made the first socialist five-year plans come true.

Communists, Agrarian Party members, Komsomol members and pioneer children, Fatherland Front members, soldiers of the Bulgarian People's Army and the Construction Corps, employees of the bodies of the Ministry of the Interior, men and women, young people, our whole wonderful people, all of us are filled with unshakeable faith in the bright future of mother Bulgaria.

As we look into the morrow we see a Bulgaria of mature socialism. Having mastered the achievements of the technological revolution; having attained a sharp rise in the country's material and cultural wealth and in the people's living standards; having unleashed the talent and creative potentialities of the people with fresh force – this is how we visualize tomorrow's socialist Bulgaria. We visualize our Bulgaria of tomorrow in the conditions of lasting peace in the world, in fraternal unity with the other socialist countries, in a setting of good neighbourly relations and cooperation, Bulgaria striding along in the front ranks of mankind and making its contribution to the attainment of its millennial aspirations for freedom, fraternity, equality, happiness and peace. For that Bulgaria, heading for communism, we shall spare no effort.

May the historical cause of the Ninth of September, 1944, the first day of our socialist revolution, live through the centuries!

Glory to the great and invincible Soviet Union, glory to the family of the fraternal socialist countries – the bulwark of peace, socialism and progress in the world!

Glory to our heroic people, builder and defender of our beloved homeland – the People's Republic of Bulgaria!

Glory to the Bulgarian Communist Party – the organizer and inspirer of our victories, the mind, the honour and conscience, the pride and hope of our people!

Long live peace!

Long live communism!

*Rabotnichesko Delo,
September 9, 1984*

PEACE – THE HOPE OF THE PLANET

*To the participants in the Fifth International Writers' Meeting
"Sofia'84"*

October 23, 1984

Distinguished ladies and gentlemen,
Distinguished comrades,

On behalf of the State Council, of the government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and on my own behalf I cordially greet all of you, participants in the Fifth International Writers' Meeting, assembled here again under the highly humane motto 'Peace – the Hope of the Planet'.

I am sincerely glad that you are here, in hospitable Bulgaria, among the peace-loving Bulgarian people. You are welcome and may your stay in our country be fruitful and pleasant!

The exchange of experience and opinion on the problems of art and its fate is needed both for you personally and for the further development of literature in your countries. However, I wish to emphasize the great public significance of this meeting which you are holding in these days of anxiety for mankind.

Today more than ever before we politicians and statesmen and you writers and all people on earth face one dilemma – a thermo-nuclear war and the destruction of the planet or peaceful cooperation, respect and understanding among the peoples. This is the cardinal question. The answer to this question affects not just the fate of culture in our time. It determines the fate of all mankind. History provides numerous examples of the meaningless destruction of significant cultural and material values, of the abolition of great cultures, even of wiping out whole nations from the face of the Earth in military conflicts. But a thermo-nuclear war, as authoritative scientific forecasts justifiably

assert, would lead to a global ecological catastrophe and to the extinction of all life on the planet.

Naturally, we believe that the people of the 20th century have the power and the ability to check the warmongers' madness. The very fact that you have assembled in Sofia unambiguously shows that you, the masters of culture and the sculptors of the human soul, believe in man's reason and in his happy future. At the same time your meeting reveals your conviction that today we must fight for peace as never before and that in this struggle the writers' responsibility is great and the potentialities of their inspired writing invaluable. Your will and your active defense of peace inspire confidence that your talented pen will continue to help millions of people to become aware of their historical responsibility in the present alarming international situation.

I think you know well that the attitude of resignation is alien to the People's Republic of Bulgaria and its government. Bulgaria and its people, you can be firmly convinced, will defend lasting peace as steadfastly as ever, will participate actively in the democratic forces' struggle to prevent a thermo-nuclear war, will consistently pursue a policy of good neighbourliness, understanding and friendship among the peoples. This policy of ours, continually corroborated by real actions, cannot be changed by anybody or anything.

I am convinced that the Fifth International Writers' Meeting in Sofia will be not just a high creative forum but will become a tribune of the writers' conscience and will, occupying a worthy place in the joint efforts to preserve and promote peace.

Once again I wish fruitful work to your meeting for the efflorescence of culture, for the well-being of mankind. I wish to all of you happiness and new creative successes.

*Rabotnichesko Delo
October 24, 1984*

LET US TRUST COMMON SENSE AND THE NEED OF UNDERSTANDING

*Todor Zhivkov Answers Questions of the Correspondent of Vorwärts
Weekly, organ of the German Social Democratic Party*

The General Secretary of the CC of the BCP Todor Zhivkov received Ronald Krönke, foreign policy editor of *Vorwärts* weekly of the German Social Democratic Party, for whom he gave the following interview:

QUESTION: Mr. President, the state of international relations today is very complicated and dangerous, the arms race has reached unprecedented proportions and all this presents a grave threat to peace. In such a situation the announcement about the forthcoming Soviet-American meeting in Geneva is a signal of hope. What would you say on this issue? Is there room for optimism?

ANSWER: Mr Krönke, your assessment of international relations coincides with mine. As if nuclear weapons on Earth were not enough, they are now getting ready to annihilate poor humanity from Outer Space too. Certain quarters in the West hope that by stepping up the arms race they would tip the balance of forces in their favour. It is time they realized their intentions are illusory. Any action in the military field in the West will provoke a counteraction by the East. Thus the world will continue to live in the conditions of continuous stockpiling and improvement of weapons, of a danger for the Earth to revolve as a dead planet.

Naturally such a prospect is not appealing to us. For many years now the socialist countries have been struggling for peace in the world and making concrete proposals to the Western states to strengthen peace. It seems, however, that there are influential people there who hope that they would achieve more via the

arms race. The escalation continues and the danger for human race is growing.

Naturally, the announcement about the forthcoming Soviet-American meeting in Geneva came as a ray of hope. On the other hand, the world is sick and tired of meetings and talks dragging on for years and destined to be fruitless. Will this meeting be of that sort? The Soviet Union's intentions are clear but what are the intentions of the United States? Is it not a manoeuvre under the growing pressure of world public opinion? Consequently, there is hope but there is also a danger of disappointment. Let us not do guesswork. It all depends on the intentions of the USA but its actions and stances so far have not given much ground for optimism. Even if there is desire, it is difficult to slow down and stop inertia and it is still more difficult to steer the wheel at a new course. Anyhow, let us trust common sense and the need of understanding.

As to the Chernenko-Reagan summit I do not think it is possible now. Recently Konstantin Chernenko expressed the same opinion. If conditions could be created, and this could be done through the efforts of both partners, Bulgaria will be among the first to wish success to the summit.

Q. How could the European countries of the East and West prevent being just spectators at the superpowers' dialogue? Could they introduce their own interests in the dialogue?

A. First of all I have to emphasize that Bulgaria's interests completely coincide with those of the Soviet Union, i.e. with the continuous proposals made by the Soviet Union to the USA to freeze, reduce and destroy armaments, for peaceful coexistence and cooperation between states with different social systems. So your question pertains above all to the countries of Western Europe that the United States turn into an outpost of the United States, into a hostage in a future nuclear war. As to the states of Western Europe, I think there are reasonable and sober-minded people in all quarters who with their actions, including their clearly expressed objection that Western Europe be made a scapegoat, can compel those taking decisions for them to comply with their interests.

Naturally, a future nuclear war will most directly affect the socialist community countries, the People's Republic of Bulgaria

included, and also the countries non-members of military blocs. Everyone must make a contribution to peace and against those who play with nuclear war. Maintaining contacts in the field of politics and developing interrelations in all spheres, and above all in economy, the European countries show that this and not the arms race is the way to confidence between equal partners. It is the duty of the peoples in the European continent, the most civilized part of humanity, a duty not only to themselves and their own future, but to the world at large.

Q. The Warsaw Treaty expires in the spring of 1985. What is your country's attitude towards the extension of the treaty? Will not an extension for an indefinite period cement the division of Europe into East and West?

A. What the Warsaw Treaty countries will decide I cannot say. The People's Republic of Bulgaria stands for an extension of the treaty because the international setup demands that. The term of the treaty does not matter to us in the sense that if NATO agrees with our proposals and disbands itself or declares it will disband itself, the Warsaw Treaty will cease to exist. For the time being the conduct of NATO is such that our countries cannot afford to remain without a defence alliance. The principle 'Turn the other cheek to whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek' is irrelevant here because it is a matter of the defence of the socialist countries and not just of the socialist countries.

Q. Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou declared himself in favour of turning the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear weapons. What is your opinion on this plan?

A. The idea is an old one. For years now we have been trying to free the Balkans and in the long run, the whole continent of Europe, the whole planet, from nuclear weapons. I declare explicitly: we acclaim the active support rendered in practice by Mr. Papandreou to this idea. The People's Republic of Bulgaria was the first to respond to his proposal to convene a conference of government experts from the Balkan countries in Athens. The Bulgarian delegation did its best for the successful conclusion of the two sessions held so far. The fact that the Balkan states' governments put the question of turning the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone on the agenda is a major moral and political victory over the forces of war.

The idea of nuclear-free Balkans is not just a vital necessity: it is possible and feasible. There exist a number of favourable factors like the one that all Balkan countries are signatories to the Treaty on Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the readiness voiced by the USSR to respect the nuclear-free status of the zone, the socio-political support to this idea, etc. Besides, it is not required of any country participating in such a nuclear-free zone to leave the military-political alliance whose member it is or to give up the guarantees of its security envisaged by the respective system of alliance to which it belongs.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria is most actively committed to the accomplishment of this noble goal. And since the Bulgarian government is doing its best to translate it into reality, it is clear how groundless the speculations in some Western mass media were alleging we are about to discuss the issue of the deployment of nuclear missiles on our territory.

Q. How can a medium-size country like Bulgaria contribute to the relaxation of the current tension in East-West relations?

A. Yes, there are big and small countries. There are countries militarily superior or inferior, rich or poor, developed or developing. But the threat of thermonuclear holocaust is global and all are equal in the face of it — peoples and nations, religious denominations and classes. We may uphold different opinions on what society will be tomorrow. But tomorrow, before, not after the thermonuclear war. It is clear what will be after the thermonuclear war: the Earth will be a dead wilderness. That is why we support the thesis of collective responsibility of all states in the world contained in the declaration of Greece, India, Mexico, Tanzania, Sweden and Argentina of May 22, 1984.

As a member of the Defence Alliance of the Warsaw Treaty countries and individually the People's Republic of Bulgaria is making active endeavours to revive and maintain a constructive dialogue, to take urgent practical measures for guaranteeing world peace and security. The initiatives which Bulgaria launches individually or as a co-sponsor within the framework of the UN General Assembly, the Disarmament Committee and at other international forums are oriented to that.

As a state situated in the heart of the Balkan Peninsula it is natural for Bulgaria to pay particular attention to the promotion

of peace and security and international cooperation in the region. This concern permeates the proposal I already spoke about – to turn the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear weapons. This concern permeates the initiative we launched in 1981 – to adopt a code of good neighbourly relations with all Balkan state.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria consistently builds its foreign policy relations with the countries of Western Europe and the other developed capitalist countries on the principles of mutual advantage and equality. Bulgaria is convinced that the principle of non-discrimination in trade and economic relations should be consistently upheld. In its economic policies, in activities on a bilateral and multilateral basis it is endeavouring to create conditions for long-range economic cooperation as an important stabilizing factor of international relations as a whole.

Q. In your opinion is it possible to launch new initiatives for disarmament in the sphere of chemical and bacteriological weapons? Is there a stockpile of chemical weapons in your country?

A. I will not dwell on the numerous initiatives of the socialist countries but I would like to specially draw your attention to the proposal of the Warsaw Treaty member states of January 10, 1984. Is it necessary to make one more proposal? The realization of this measure even on a regional scale will considerably reduce the risk of chemical war on the Continent, strengthen European security and precipitate the signing of a universal convention on the ban of chemical weapons which is our ultimate goal.

As to the second part of your question, my answer is: no. I want to state most responsibly and categorically: unlike some Western countries, there are no chemical or bacteriological weapons on the territory of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. Bulgaria has signed and ratified the Convention on the ban to develop, make and deploy stockpiles of bacteriological (biological) and toxic weapons and on their destruction. It has also signed the 1925 Geneva Protocol on the ban of the use of chemical weapons. Bulgaria strictly abides and will abide by their stipulations.

Q. Has your country taken a decision whether it will participate in the Summer Olympic Games in Seoul in 1988?

A. The decision is to be taken by the Olympic Committee. As far as I know it has not pronounced itself yet.

Q. What opportunities do you see for the improvement of relations between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the FRG?

A. We assess the current state of our relations to be good and mutually advantageous. The West German side had expressed the same opinion. Besides, the *Vorwärts* readers had the opportunity last September to read in detail about Bulgarian-West German relations in the articles in the special supplement about the People's Republic of Bulgaria issued on the occasion of its 40th anniversary.

I understand your question on the improvement of bilateral relations in an aspect of expanding and deepening existing good relations. We see such real opportunities everywhere: in the economic sphere, in techno-scientific exchange, in agriculture, in culture, in ecology, in medical care, in tourism, etc.

Our practices so far show that contacts in different spheres in general and summit dialogue in particular are of great importance for the development of relations between the two countries.

The meeting we just had with Mr. Willy Brandt was very pleasant but also extremely useful for the development of our bilateral relations, and for peace in the world. The German Social Democratic Party stands firmly for disarmament and detente in the relations between states of the East and West and we acclaim this party as our partner in the common struggle despite the ideological differences. We will work in this direction together with all state, political, business and other quarters in the FRG irrespective of the different views of order in a world saved from nuclear holocaust.

*Rabotnichesko Delo
December 8, 1984*

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PEACE AND SECURITY FOR THE PEOPLES

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Technical Editor: *Donka Alfandari*
Proof-readers: *Svetla Dimitrova, Iliana Simeonova*
Format 84/108/32
17,50 Printers' Sheets
Balkan State Printing House
31/95311/29431 0102-37-85

SOFIA PRESS PUBLISHING HOUSE
1184 Sofia, 113 Lenin Blvd.

Тодор Живков
МИР И СИГУРНОСТ
ЗА НАРОДИТЕ
(английски език)